Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series

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# THE VEDDAS

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The Vedda country, view from Bendiyagalge rocks.

# THE VEDDAS

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WITH A CHAPTER BY
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AND AN APPENDIX BY
A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA, Mudaliar

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# PREFACE

THE Veddas have been regarded as one of the most primitive 121
of existing races, and it has long been felt desirable that
their social life and religious ideas should be investigated as 122
thoroughly as possible. The welcome opportunity of conducting this research was afforded me on the initiative of Dr A. C. Haddon, who suggested to the Honourable Mr John Ferguson and Dr Arthur Willey that it was desirable that the Ceylon Government should continue its enlightened policy of studying the anthropology, archaeology and history of Ceylon and its peoples. This proposal received the warmest support of the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, G.C.M.G., and his successor the present Governor, His Excellency Sir Henry E. McCallum, G.C.M.G., A.D.C., of the Colonial Secretary and of the other members of the Legislative Council who made a liberal grant covering the expenses of the expedition in the field.

Not only was the work urgently needed on account of its 121
scientific importance, but it was known that the Veddas were a
numerically small people verging on extinction, and so affected 161
by contact with Tamils and Sinhalese that if they were not 177
studied promptly there was every possibility that it would soon be too late to study them at all; indeed, with all my efforts I was able to meet only four families, and hear of two more, who I believe had never practised cultivation. Pure-blooded Veddas are not quite so rare as this statement implies. The Danigala community, the best known "wild" Veddas of Ceylon, are still reasonably pure-blooded, though they have adopted many Sinhalese habits, including cultivation, and have assumed the rôle of professional primitive man. They are commonly fetched to be interviewed by travellers at the nearest rest house, where they appear clad only in the traditional scanty Vedda garment, whereas, when not on show, they dress very much as the neighbouring peasant Sinhalese.

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123 126 In spite of the decay into which the Vedda social fabric has fallen, I believe that the expedition may be considered to have achieved a considerable measure of success, since it has brought to light a number of facts hitherto unknown. This result is largely due to my wife, for I feel convinced that the measure of success attained in gaining the confidence of these shy and extremely jealous people was entirely due to her presence and assistance. Not only would it have been impossible otherwise to obtain certain important results in special departments, as for instance the phonograph records of lullabies; but I should never have had the opportunity of studying Vedda family life with the degree of intimacy which her presence made possible. It must not however be thought that the assistance she rendered was of the somewhat passive kind which the presence of any sympathetic woman would have given. Indeed, the opposite was the case, for, with a single exception, the ceremonial dances described in Chapter IX were recorded by Mrs Seligmann, while I devoted the whole of my attention to obtaining a reasonably complete series of photographs. So fully did she share in the work in this and many other ways that when working up our results I found that my original idea of a volume containing a number of jointly written chapters by no means did justice to her work, and her name therefore appears as that of joint author of this book.

126 With regard to the dances photographed, those witnessed at Sitala Wanniya and Bandaraduwa were performed in the depth of the jungle under circumstances which necessitated under-exposure in spite of the use of the most rapid plates. Hence a number of the photographs reproduced in Chapter IX have been more or less "faked," the detail being painted in on bromide prints and fresh negatives prepared. Probably no one will have any difficulty in recognising the photographs which have been treated in this way, but in order to avoid any possibility of a mistake those plates which have been touched up are indicated by an asterisk.

000 The translations and transliterations of the charms in Chapter VIII and the invocations in Chapter X have been prepared by Mr Henry Parker, late Assistant Director of the Ceylon Irrigation Department, who has also read through and

criticised Chapters I, VI, VII, VIII, XIV and XV. But the assistance he has thus rendered is by no means the full measure of our indebtedness, for there is scarcely a chapter in which we have not availed ourselves of his great knowledge of Ceylon, and although we have endeavoured to acknowledge in the text the help he has given us, we feel we have scarcely done justice to the benefit we have derived from discussing many points with him. Dr C. S. Myers is responsible for the chapter on Music; to him we are greatly indebted for undertaking this work in spite of the many other calls on his time.

We owe to Mr A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliar, the transliteration and translation of the songs given in Chapter XIV. Mr Gunasekara has also worked over the vocabularies we took in the field and has added greatly to the value of these by the derivations which he has been able to suggest for many of the words, and we desire to express our appreciation of the energy and knowledge he has brought to the task.

It is a pleasure and a duty to refer to the assistance rendered by friends and officials in Ceylon. In the first place our thanks are due to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., and the Hon. Mr John Ferguson, C.M.G., for constant advice and help. We received the greatest assistance from Dr Arthur Willey, F.R.S., until recently the Director of the Colombo Museum, who not only placed his own knowledge and experience at our disposal, but encouraged us to make the freest use of his department. He thus saved us much trouble and a considerable expenditure of time, and to him we owe a debt of gratitude which we cannot adequately express. Our obligation to the officers of the Survey Department is very great, and we desire to record the assistance rendered by the Surveyor General, Mr P. Warren, C.M.G., the Assistant Surveyor General, Mr R. S. Templeton, and Mr W. C. S. Ingles. Encouraged by his success with plates exposed in Colombo Mr Ingles took an immense amount of trouble with a number of colour-plates which had been exposed in the jungle, but the results though interesting were not such as to be of scientific value. Mr Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., of the Land Settlement Department, who has travelled much in the Vedda country, also rendered valuable assistance, and we have made free use of his paper (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* C.B. 1902) giving the vernacular names of many trees and flowering plants of economic importance to the Veddas. We are also under obligation to Mr J. Harward, Director of Public Instruction, and we must not omit to mention the attention shown to us by Mr G. A. Joseph, Hon. Secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

While in the field we received help from so many friends from Government officers to peasant Sinhalese that it is impossible to mention all by name. We must specially thank Mr H. White and Mr H. R. Freeman, the Government Agents of Uva and the Eastern Province respectively, not only for much kindly advice but for putting at our disposal such adequate interpreters as Mr W. R. Bibile, Ratemahatmaya, the Muhandiram Kumarakulasinghe and Mr D. C. de Silva, Kachcheri Interpreter. We are greatly indebted to these gentlemen as we also are to Mr Samuel Perera for his assistance in locating a group of Veddas, for whom we had been searching for some weeks, and to Mr C. Herft, District Engineer, Batticaloa, who twice supplied us with coolies when we were in serious difficulty for transport. Our thanks are also due to Mr G. T. Bradley of the Irrigation Department and Mr G. D. Templer of the Forest Department as well as to Mr G. W. Woodhouse, District Judge, who spent a whole day of his holidays interpreting for us.

We received much help from Mr G. P. Greene, General Manager of the Ceylon Government Railways, and from Mr C. Donald of Bandarawela, whose assistance in the transport of stores was of the utmost service. We must also refer to the many acts of kindness and help rendered both officially and unofficially by our friend the late James Parsons, Principal Mineral Surveyor, whose recent tragic death has deprived the island of one of the most scientific of its officials.

By the kindness of the Colonial Secretary and the General Manager of the Ceylon Government Railways one of the Government motor cars was put at our disposal for a week soon after landing. For the benefit of others who may be engaged in similar work we desire to refer to the value of a preliminary survey of the country conducted from a motor car. Our survey enabled us to gain valuable information without going more than ten miles on foot from the main road.

We are indebted to the following gentlemen for help and advice on various matters, Dr L. D. Barnett, Mr R. I. Pocock, Professor Ridgeway and Mr Vincent A. Smith. It remains to thank Dr W. H. R. Rivers for the unflagging interest he has shown in this volume, the whole of which he has read in manuscript and discussed with us, to the very great advantage of the work. We are also indebted to him for permission to reproduce from the *British Journal of Psychology* the block which appears on p. 403; while some of the figures of quartz implements reproduced in Plate VIII have already appeared in *Man*. The index and glossary have been prepared by Miss M. C. Jonas.

C. G. S.

10 *February* 1911.

# NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

THE transliteration of unfamiliar oriental words must constitute a difficulty to all who are not oriental scholars. In the present instance the matter is further complicated by the phonetic changes undergone by many Sinhalese words in the mouths of Veddas and the peasant Sinhalese of the Vedirata. Under these circumstances it seemed best not to attempt to polish the dialect in which our informants talked, but to treat it as an unwritten language, and to write all native words according to some generally recognised and easily applied rule. We selected the scheme recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, under which consonants are pronounced as in English and vowels as in Italian, only modifying it by writing *c* for the *ch* sound in *church*. Satisfactory as this plan proved to be in the field it is obviously wholly unsuited to that part of the work which consists of the transliteration and translation of songs or invocations written down in Sinhalese by our interpreters. Mr Parker and Mr Gunasekara have therefore made use of a system of transliteration suggested by the former, consisting of that prescribed by the Ceylon Government (cf. Mr Gunasekara's Sinhalese Grammar, pp. 8 and 9) with the following modifications:

(1) Long vowels are indicated by the sign ‑.

(2) The letters ඇ, ච, ඡ, ශ are represented by æ, c, ch, ś respectively.

ව has been represented by v or w.

Hence the transliteration of the Sinhalese alphabet according to this modified system is as follows:

Vowels—අ a, ආ ā, ඇ æ, ඈ ǣ, ඉ i, ඊ or ඊ ī, උ u, ඌ ū, ඍ ṛi, ඎ ṝi, ඏ ḷi, ඐ ḹi, එ e, ඒ ē, ඓ ai, ඔ o, ඕ ō, ඖ au.

Consonants—ක k, ඛ kh, ග g, ඝ gh, ඞ ń, ච c, ඡ ch, ජ j, ඣ jh, ඤ ñ, ට ṭ, ඨ ṭh, ඩ ḍ, ඪ ḍh, ණ ṇ, ත t, ථ th, ද d, ධ dh, න n, ප p, ඵ ph, බ b, භ bh, ම m, ය y, ර r, ල l, ව v or w, ශ ś, ෂ sh, ස s, හ h, ළ ḷ, ං ṃ, ඃ ḥ.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

The semi-nasal sounds (represented by the symbol ʳ, as in ඟ n̆g, ඦ n̆j, ඬ n̆ḍ, ඳ n̆d) are represented by n̆, and the semi-nasal sound (represented by the symbol ɛ as in ඹ) of m is represented by m̆.

The use of two systems of transliteration in the same book, though far from ideal, has, we believe, not led to any ambiguity, for the absence of all diacritical marks (with the exception of an occasional – over a long vowel) will immediately indicate that a word is written as it stood in our field notes. Thus in the vocabulary the words are given as we took them down in the field, while the more elaborate system of transliteration is used by Mr Gunasekara in his notes on the origin of these words. From one standpoint there may even be an advantage in the use of a simple system of transliteration. Being ignorant of Sinhalese we have recorded the sounds we heard, without the modifications which a knowledge of the language would suggest. Thus *hatera* is everywhere written for *hatura* (bear); *Baṇḍara* pronounced *Bandar* by all Veddas and many peasant Sinhalese will be found printed in both forms, and the spelling of many other words is varied in the same manner. Perhaps the most striking example of variation in spelling is in the name of the people of whom this book treats. We have thought it best to use the common English spelling and to write the word Vedda, but this word is spelt in at least two other ways, in the *verbatim* quotations from the manuscript or printed works of others.

C. G. S.
B. Z. S.

3 *February* 1911.

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1;Seligmann & Seligmann 1-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

## ERRATA

Page 26 line 25 to p. 27 line 4 for "mm." read "m."
Page 28 line 20 for "[illegible]" read "[illegible]"
Page 21 line 24 for "I" read "we"
Page 25 footnote line 1 for "I" read "we"
Page 35 line 1 for "[illegible]" read "[illegible]"
Page 44 line 7 for "1·330 mm." read "1·33 m."
Page 45 footnote line 7 for "[illegible]" read "[illegible]"
Page 141 line 23 for "Pandiki Yaka" read "Pandikki Yaka"
Page 149 line 26 for "Vijaya" read "Vijaya"
Page 150 line 11 for "Galmeda" read "Galmede"
Page 155 line 34 for "Chapter VII" read "in the Addendum to this chapter"
Page 169 line 25 for "Wannegala" and page 170 line 36, and page 172 line 20 for "Wanegala" read "Wanegala"
Page 263 line 11 for "Gange Bandar" read "Ganga Bandar"
Page 224 lines 6, 10 and 12 respectively read
"Go and cleave it in the tail, by the [illegible]"
"Go and cleave it in the neck, by the [illegible]"
"Go and cleave it in the stomach, by the [illegible]"
Page 229 for lines 20 to 22 read "*[illegible]* is the ablative case of *[illegible]*, etc."
Page 229 line 6 for "many *yaks*" read "many *yaku*"
Page 231 line 19 for "[illegible]" read "*[illegible]*"
Page 245 line 21 for "Ala Yaka" read "Ala Yaka"
Page 300 line 11 and p. 333 line 14 for "Chapter VIII" read "Chapter VII"
Page 305 last line for "Chapter XV" read "Chapter XIV"

[p. xx]

# CHAPTER I

## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

THE Vedda country at the present day is limited to a roughly triangular tract lying between the eastern slopes of the central mountain *massif* and the sea. This area of about 2400 square miles is bounded on the west by the Mahaweli Ganga, from the point where, abandoning its eastern course through the mountains of the Central Province, the river sweeps northwards to the sea. A line from this great bend passing eastwards through Bibile village (on the Badulla-Batticaloa road) to the coast will define the southern limits of the Vedda country with sufficient accuracy, while its eastern limit is the coast. So defined it includes the greater part of the Eastern Province, about a fifth of Uva and a small portion of that part of the North Central Province known as Tamankaduwa, and is traversed by a single high road capable of taking wheeled traffic. This runs from Badulla, the capital of Uva, lying at the foot of the central mountain mass of the island, to the coast a few miles to the north of Batticaloa, the capital of the Eastern Province. 131 491

Excepting only the mountain scenery of Upper Uva and the Central Province, the Vedda country even in its present diminished form presents every variety of scenery met with in Ceylon, including alike the magnificent Uva park lands and the sandy mangrove-fringed flats of the Eastern coast. Within its borders is situated Mahayangana (Alutnuwara) the ancient assembling place of the Yakkas where, according to the Mahawansa, Buddha appeared and struck terror into their hearts before propounding his doctrines to the hosts of *devas* who 133

Plate I

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Fig. 1. View from the P. W. D. bungalow at Nilgala

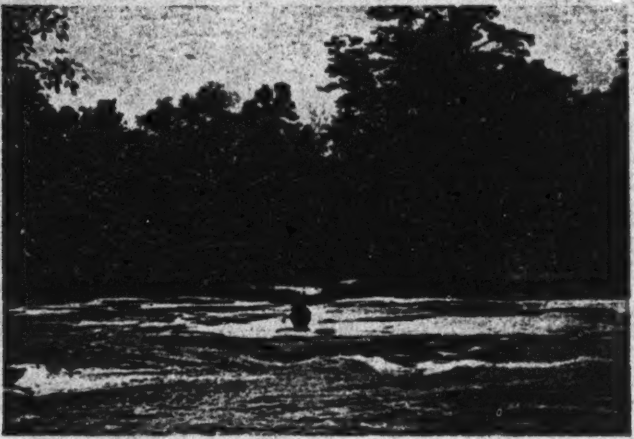

Fig. 2. The Gal Oya river near Nilgala

[facing p. 2]

133 attended him there. Here was erected the Mahayangana dagaba, the oldest in Ceylon, built over the relics of the very Buddha and from its inception to the present day the goal of countless generations of pious pilgrims reaching it by descending the Gallepadahulla, the pass of two thousand steps, that leads in less than an hour from the breezy uplands of the Central Province to the steamy river valley two thousand feet below. It is from this, the old pilgrim path, wending its way above the pass through the pleasant hills of Uva from the forgotten city of Medamahanuwara, that the best idea of the Vedda country is obtained. A sudden rise in the ground gives the first view of the Vedda country through a V-shaped frame of hills, and from such a spot as this Knox must have looked upon Bintenne. "It (the country of Bintan) seems to be a smooth land and not much hilly, the great river running through the midst of it. It is all over covered with mighty woods and abundance of deer, but much subject to dry weather and sickness. In these woods is a sort of wild people inhabiting, whom we shall speak of in their place[1]."

Continuing along the path a little further, a wider view is obtained where the track seems to end abruptly in a great rock, the Ballangala or look-out rock, upon which the pilgrim halts to gaze reverently upon the ancient dagaba and the flat land spread out before him.

Here flows the Mahaweli ganga, soon to be hidden in the great sea of forest-clad lowland stretching away to the north, from which rise Kokagalla and other hills, the traditional homes of the Veddas, like rocky islands in the distance. To the east tower the Uva Mountains, stretching onwards in a diminishing series towards the uplands of Nilgala. In Bintenne, including in this term parts of both Uva and the Eastern Province, the jungle consists of a forest of great trees without much undergrowth, occasionally interrupted by open spaces, covered with coarse grass, which, however, does not grow much higher than the knee. These open patches are more numerous in the Eastern Province than they are in Uva Bintenne (which is traversed by many small streams) and it is generally supposed that they are 133 the sites of ancient cultivation; there are comparatively few streams in this country though swamps and small water holes containing stagnant water are common[1].

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[1] *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon in the East Indies*, London, 1681. Chapter II, p. 3.

Northward in Tamankaduwa (a division of the North 133 Central Province) the great trees give place to poorer growth and a scrubby jungle is found. On the east of the Badulla- 137 Batticaloa road lie the Nilgala hills, the best of the Vedda domain and the most pleasing country in Ceylon. Here, broad valleys lie between jungle-clad ranges of much weathered gneiss, among whose rocky crags and rounded domes, *bambara*, the rock bee (*Apis indica*), builds its combs. Here is no gloomy jungle, but in the valleys are many thickets and small trees growing scattered as in a young orchard, their trunks protected by coarse lalang grass which often attains 5 or 6 feet in

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[1] The character of the Bintenne of the Eastern Province has been well stated by Mr H. Freeman, Government Agent for the Eastern Province, in his *Administration Report* for 1908, for the following extract from which I am indebted to Mr John Ferguson: "This is an unsatisfactory region; a wretched population of about 3,000 in the largest pattu of the Province has, with the exception of three or four small patches of paddy land, nothing to live on except chenas and jungle produce; they have not the advantage of the hundreds along the coast who can get a sort of living by begging from their neighbours. Necessarily the Bintenna folk are miserable in appearance; nearly all of them are sick. There are many abandoned tanks, but the people have neither the physique nor the will to restore them. There are no coconuts to speak of in Bintenna; the few trees are either infertile or barren. Still we must take the people and the country as we find them, and rather than let the population drift away from Bintenna to the chena country of Uva, I would concentrate them on the more fertile spots about Kalladai, Maha-oya, Pallamalai and Tempitiya, on or near the Badulla road, and endeavour to teach them to do tank work; there are promising, abandoned, tanks, which could be restored, and the land settled on the people on easy terms. Plentiful chenas would be necessary to fill the stomachs of the people to get work out of them; maize grows well in Bintenna; it is now imported in large quantities from Uva; large tracts of Bintenna could be turned into maize fields for the supply of the people on the coast also, while Uva could then keep to itself its supplies of this commodity sent down to this district....In addition to the Sinhalese population of Bintenna there are the Veddas,...and bands of gipsies find a good hunting ground there. Some of these have just been prosecuted and imprisoned for violating the Game Laws, and also made to pay road tax, payment of which they have evaded for years; the gipsies have considerable wealth in cattle and other property; they also drink and steal. Since writing the above on the condition of Bintenna I have explored other and remoter parts of that division, and find that whatever prosperity in paddy cultivation it enjoyed in the distant past must have been due to the Rajakariya system, in the absence of which Bintenna will probably remain a wilderness for an indefinitely long period."

133 height. Clear rock-strewn streams abound, their banks
brightened by the deep green leaves and the bright red flowers
137 of the *ratmal* (*Ixora coccinea*). Scattered masses of rock often
of great size form convenient shelters for the Veddas, and assist
the rapid drainage of the country, which does not become water-
logged even during torrential rains. This beautiful country is
rich in game. To the east, where many Veddas have drifted,
the jungle is thicker, the land lies lower, and is generally less
healthy. The Nuwaragala Hills to the north of the Nilgala
ranges are perhaps the wildest part of the island and are more
densely clothed in jungle, but there are plenty of streams, while
the slope of the country permits of ready drainage.

The coastal zone north of Batticaloa inhabited by the coast
Veddas is flat and sandy, and the vegetation though dense
is often less tall and less abundant than in other parts of the
country. Salt water marshes are common, and the country
is cut into by numerous lagoons and creeks, often bounded
by a fringe of mangroves which stretches some distance up
the mouths of the rivers. Although this area may now, and
131 for yet a few years, be rightly called the Vedda country it must
161 not be thought that any considerable number of its inhabitants
563 are Veddas, or that they exercise any territorial or political
influence; on the contrary, they constitute an insignificant
fraction of the Tamil and Sinhalese inhabitants before whom
they are rapidly disappearing, partly by intermarriage and
absorption, partly owing to misery and a high death rate
brought about by sheer inability to cope with the new state
of affairs that the increased settlement of this, the wildest part
of the island, has brought about.

Formerly the Vedda country is known to have embraced
131 the whole of the Uva, and much of the Central and North
175 Central Provinces, while there is no reason to suppose that their
territory did not extend beyond these limits. Indeed there is
no reasonable doubt that the Veddas are identical with the
"Yakkas" of the Mahavansa and other native chronicles.

The seventh chapter of the Mahawansa relates the arrival in
175 Ceylon, B.C. 543, of Vijaya who married Kuweni an aboriginal
princess (*Yakkini*) and by her assistance destroyed a great

number of her people, and established the earliest Sinhalese kingdom. Later, after she had borne him a son and a daughter, Vijaya being urged by his followers to take a royal bride sent an embassy to Madura, asking for the hand of the daughter of King Pandava. The latter agreed to the alliance. Vijaya "receiving the announcement of the arrival of this royal maiden, and considering it impossible that the princess could live with him at the same time with the yakkini, he thus explained himself to Kuweni: 'A daughter of royalty is a timid being; on that account, leaving the children with me, depart from my house.' She replied: 'On thy account, having murdered yakkhas, I dread these yakkhas: now I am discarded by both parties; whither can I take myself?' 'Within my dominions (said he) to any place thou pleasest which is unconnected with yakkhas; and I will maintain thee with a thousand bali offerings.' She who had been thus interdicted (from uniting herself with the yakkhas) with clamorous lamentation, taking her children with her, in the character of an inhuman being, wandered to that very city (Lankapura) of inhuman inhabitants. She left her children outside the yakkha city. The yakkhas, on seeing her enter the city, quickly surrounded her, crying out: 'It is for the purpose of spying us that she has come back!' And when the yakkhas were greatly excited, one of them, whose anger was greatly kindled, put an end to the life of the yakkini by a blow of his hand. Her uncle, a yakkha (named Kumara), happening to proceed out of the yakkha city, seeing these children outside the town, 'Whose children are ye?' said he. Being informed 'Kuveni's' he said, 'Your mother is murdered: if ye should be seen here, they would murder you also: fly quickly.' Instantly departing thence, they repaired to the (neighbourhood of the) Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak). The elder having grown up, married his sister, and settled there. Becoming numerous by their sons and daughters, under the protection of the king, they resided in the Malaya district. This is the origin of the Pulindas (hill-men)."

Such chronicles though interesting tell us little or nothing concerning the habits and customs of those Veddas who did not adopt a Sinhalese mode of life; the same may be said

175 of the earliest foreign records such as that found in the tract *De Moribus Brachmanorum* written about 400 A.D., the author of which professes to have obtained his information from a Theban traveller.

To Robert Knox, who wrote in 1681 after a captivity in
114 Ceylon lasting 20 years, belongs the credit of having first
accurately described the Veddas. "Of these *Natives* there be
two sorts *Wild* and *Tame*. I will begin with the former. For
as in these Woods there are Wild *Beasts* so Wild *Men* also.
The Land of *Bintan* is all covered with mighty Woods, filled
101 with abundance of *Deer*. In this Land are many of these wild
men; they call them *Vaddahs*, dwelling near no other Inhabitants.
They speak the *Chingulayes* Language. They kill *Deer*,
175 and dry the Flesh over the fire, and the people of the Countrey
105 come and buy it of them. They never Till any ground for
Corn, their Food being only Flesh. They are very expert with their Bows. They have a little ax, which they stick by their sides, to cut hony out of hollow Trees. Some few, which are near Inhabitants, have commerce with other people. They have no Towns nor Houses, only live by the waters under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Many of these Habitations we saw when we fled through the Woods, but God be praised the *Vaddahs* were gone.

"Some of the tamer sort of these men are in a kind of Subjection to the King. For if they be found, tho it must be with a great search in the woods, they will acknowledge his Officers, and will bring to them *Elephant-teeth*, and *Honey*, and *Wax*, and *Deer's Flesh*; but the others in lieu thereof do give them near as much, in Arrows, Cloth, etc. fearing lest they should otherwise appear no more.

"It had been reported to me by many people, that the wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a *Smith's* Shop, also a Leaf cut in the form they will have their Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the *Smith* do make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring him more Flesh;

but if he make them not, they will do him a mischief one time 175
or another by shooting in the night. If the Smith make the
Arrows, he leaves them in the same place, where the *Vaddahs* 105
hung the Flesh.

* * * * * * * *

"About *Hourly* the remotest of the King's Dominions there are many of them, that are pretty tame, and come and buy and sell among the people. The King once having occasion of an hasty Expedition against the *Dutch*, the Governour summoned them all in to go with him, which they did. And with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest but afterwards when they returned home again, they removed farther in the Woods, and would be seen no more, for fear of being afterwards prest again to serve the King.

"They never cut their hair but tye it up on their Crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their Buttocks. The *wilder* and *tamer* sort of them do both observe a Religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves. The *tamer* do build Temples, the wild only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering, dance round it, both men and women.

"They have their bounds in the Woods among themselves, and one company of them is not to shoot nor gather hony or fruit beyond those bounds. Neer the borders stood a *Jack-Tree*; one *Vaddah* being gathering some fruit from this Tree, another *Vaddah* of the next division saw him, and told him he had nothing to do to gather *Jacks* from that Tree, for that belonged to them. They fell to words and from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. At which more of them met and fell to skirmishing so briskly with their Bows and Arrows, that twenty or thirty of them were left dead upon the spot.

"They are so curious of their Arrows that no smith can please them: The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best made Arrow-blades: which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form. The Arrows they use are of a

175 105 different fashion from all other, and the *Chingulays* will not use them.

"They have a peculiar way by themselves of *preserving Flesh*. They cut a hollow Tree and put honey in it, and then fill it up with flesh, and stop it up with clay. Which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want.

"It has usually been told me that their way of *catching Elephants* is, that when the Elephant lyes asleep they strike their ax into the sole of his foot, and so laming him he is in their power to take him. But I take this for a fable, because I know the sole of the Elephants foot is so hard, that no axe can pierce it at a blow; and he is so wakeful that they can have no opportunity to do it.

"For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give hunting Dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some of the *Chingulays* in discontent will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold some kind of trade with the tame Inhabitants, but the wilder called *Ramba-Vaddahs* never show themselves."

175 648 From Knox's account it is evident that in his time or a little before this, some of the Veddas were in touch with the court and were even sufficiently amenable to discipline to be of use as an auxiliary fighting force, indeed, there is abundant evidence that long before this a part of the inhabitants of Ceylon, with enough Vedda blood in them for their contemporaries to call them Veddas, were politically organized and constituted a force whom the rulers of the island found it necessary to consider. Upon this subject we cannot do better than quote part of a letter from Mr H. Parker in which this authority states his views on this subject. "At the time when Sinhalese history begins, a part of them [Veddas] had reached a far more advanced state than the others. They were politically organised, and according to the Mahavansa had a supreme king and subordinate chiefs 80 years after Wijaya became king[1].

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[1] "He established the yakkhas Kalavela in the eastern quarter of the city [Anuradhapura]; and the chief of the yakkhas, Citta, he established on the lower side of the Abhaya tank. He (the king), who knew how to accord his protection with

"The invaders, or rather settlers, from the valley of the Ganges intermarried with these more advanced natives, and became the Sinhalese of the present day (with a later mixture of Tamil or Indian blood). 175 648

"The wilder natives continued to lead the life of their primitive ancestors, and only to a very limited extent intermarried with the Sinhalese.

"Three or four centuries ago the Vaeddas were spread over the Matale district and the North-western Province, and I believe Sabaragamuwa[1]." 175

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discrimination, established the slave born of the yakkha tribe, who had formerly rendered him great service, at the southern gate of the city. He established within the garden of the royal palace the mare-faced yakkhini, and provided annually demon offerings to them as well as to others.

"In the days of public festivity, this monarch, seated on a throne of equal eminence with the yakkha chief Citta, caused joyous spectacles, representing the actions of the devas as well as of mortals to be exhibited.......

"This monarch befriending the interests of the yakkhas, with the co-operation of Kalavela and Citta, who had the power (though yakkhas) of rendering themselves invisible (in the human world), conjointly with them, enjoyed his prosperity." *Mahawansa*, Chapter x, p. 44 (Tournour's translation). Further, the same king "provided...a temple [or "tala tree," the readings differ] for the Vyadha-deva" which Mr Parker states must refer to the Vedda God.

[1] Additional evidence for this is given by Nevill who says—"I have unpublished MSS. which represent the Vaeddas as found in the forests north of Putlam at the time of Bhuwaneka Bahu Raja of Kotta (about 1466 A.D.), and another which represents Vaeddas as the chief inhabitants of the Matale district in the region of Raja Sinha, about 1635 A.D." (*Taprobanian*, Vol. II, April 1885, p. 30). With regard to Veddas in Sabaragamuwa, Bailey notes that—"Though traces of their former existence there are evident and numerous, there is every reason to believe that many centuries have passed since they were there. Fields, villages and families yet retain the name Veddahs, as Weddeya pangoo, Wedde coombora, Wedde watte, Wedde ella, Wedde gala, Weddege etc.......Indeed, Saffragam, or Habara gamowa, means the district of Veddahs, or barbarous people: and in this form of the word, the former existence of Veddahs again can be traced, as Habara goddege, Habara kadowa, etc. It is traditional throughout Saffragam, that once Veddahs predominated over Sinhalese in that district, and that, as the latter gained ground, the former withdrew towards Bintenne and Wellasse.......Mr Macready, of the Civil Service, has given me very important proof of the existence of Veddahs 'near the Samanta mountains' [Adam's Peak]. He has given me the translation of some stanzas from a Sinhalese poem, written about 400 years ago, called the Pirawi Sandese, or the dove's message. The poem treats of a message sent, by means of a dove, from Cotta (near Colombo) to Vishnu at Dondera, at the extreme south of the island. The dove takes its course exactly over the district lying below Adam's Peak. The poet addresses the dove, and tells her she will see 'the daughters of the Veddahs' clothed in Riti bark, their hair adorned with peacock's plumes. So wild are they that the poet describes the herds of deer as being startled at the sight of them." ("Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of

175 "A 16th century MS.—the *Wanni Kadaim Pota*—records the appointment of a Vaedda chief as Bandara Mudiyanse (a title applied only to high caste chiefs); at the king's orders (Bhuvanaika Bahu of Kotta) he fixed the boundaries of four districts or "Pattus" of the North-western Province. His name was Panikki Vaedda[1], he caught elephants and took some to the king, with another Vaedda chief, a Registrar or Secretary, called Liyana Vaedda. I have an early 17th century MS. which gives an account of part of a civil war in the Matale District, carried on by his nephew against the king who imprisoned Knox. Among the insurgent leaders were first, three Sinhalese chiefs of Matale, and after them are enumerated a number of Vaedda chiefs (including one woman) who are all expressly said to be Vaeddas; of the 'Vaedda wasagama'; one of them was the chief of Bibile[2]."

[172] Ceylon," *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* 1865, Vol. II, p. 313.) Within the last few months the matter has been rendered almost certain by the discovery by the late James Parsons to the N.E. of Ratnapura of quartz implements of the type figured in Plate VIII.

[1] The mention of the existence of a chief called Panikki Vedda is especially interesting since Panikkia Yaka reputed to be the spirit (*yaka*) of a long dead Vedda chief, who was especially skilled in hunting buffalo and elephant, is honoured among the Henebedda Veddas. This record shows that the memory of this "Vedda" chief has been maintained among the local peasant Sinhalese, who themselves are partly of Vedda descent, until it recently passed to the Henebedda Veddas. (Cf. Religion, Chapter VI.)

[2] The present day Sinhalese of the Vedirata say that such Vedda chiefs as these here recorded were called wanniya and repaired annually to Kandy with offerings of honey, wax, and venison for the king, who might also invite their presence on special occasions when they would attend, each wanniya bringing with him a ceremonial fezlike ornament (still used by the Sinhalese chiefs) called toppiya (literally "hat"), with an ornament made of wood or ivory on the top called *kuruppiyana*, or *kota*. Mr Bibile told us the following story of what happened on one occasion when the wanniya stayed near Kandy with one Galabandar who seems to have been a Vedda. The king instructed Galabandar to remove the *kota* from his guests' *toppiya* without their knowledge. On the day of the audience these *kota* were missing, and as there was no time to get others the Vedda chiefs had to go before the king without them. The king questioned them: "Where are your *kota*? Lost!" and the king said "Henceforth only I will have the right to *kota* and you Vedda chiefs have no right to them." And the king called the Vedda chiefs *bandar*, each wanniya being given a name, e.g. Mahabandar, Hennenabandar, Talabandar, Kiribandar, Rangethbandar, Ratubandar, Polbandar, Mutubandar, Kapurubandar, and so forth, and henceforth the Veddas must needs go to Kandy yearly taking tribute to the king. And their people took their chiefs' names as community names, e.g. Danigala and Henebedda are Mahabandar. It did not appear that *bandar* names of this sort were generally known to the Veddas, and we confess that we at present attach no importance to the story we

Veddas are also mentioned in an old family record translated by Nevill which he terms the *Nadu Kadu Chronicle* and which he considers cannot be later than the sixteenth century[1].

The following references to Veddas are taken from the chronicle, for, though they obviously refer to settled and civilised Veddas who may have had little Vedda blood in their veins, they are interesting as showing the social and political influence exerted by these.

The first passage concerns two Pattani soldiers engaged by the Sinhalese chief as guards.

"Then he took them with him, thinking they will be good to guard against the troubles caused by the Vedas. He kept them as a guard against the Vedas of Pala Vekama."

The next reference runs: "The chief of all the Vedas was Kandiyan. What was their service? It was to erect temporary

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have cited, which is only given here because we feel that it is possible that in the hands of competent historians it may prove to be of some use.

[1] "Report reached me that a valuable record existed, kept in hereditary and exclusive possession by an old family in the district of Nadu Kadu. Nadu Kadu is the modern Tamil name of the Na-desiya, or Naga-dvipiana, of the Eastern Province of Ceylon, and is situated to the south of Batticaloa. It was, in early times, an independent or feudatory principality, sometimes one, sometimes the other; and it was here Sada Tissa, brother of Dutugemunu, ruled......The record evidently refers to a time when this district was depopulated of its former Sinhalese land-owners, and all cultivation of rice had been abandoned. It tells us how a band of Sinhalese took up these lands, and reclaimed them, preserving friendly relations with the Vaeddas, Mukkuvas, and Mukkuvars, who held the forests and coast.

"The record is said to have been in Sinhalese, but was translated into Tamil by the ancestors of the family from whom I procured it, the hereditary managers of the Thiru Kovil temple. They said that during the guerilla warfare between the English and the Vanni Chiefs and Dissawas of Uva and Velassa, the Sinhalese villagers of the district migrated (? were deported) to the Kandian hills and their place was filled up by emigrants from Jaffna, Tamil Vellalas. Hence the Sinhalese record became useless, and was translated. It bears on its face the proof of this translation, in many odd changes and expressions.

"The authors were a family of Sinhalese nobles of high rank, whose ladies held the hereditary dignity of foster-mother to the royal princes......

"They were banished to Rukaman, then a deserted site, but anciently the capital of Sada Tissa. We have incidentally an interesting glimpse at the household of a feudal noble, of this period, about the thirteenth century......

"The work of cutting down the trees that had overgrown the rice-lands was done by the Vaeddas, doubtless for a share of the crop, and the powerful Wanni Rajas were gratified with separate tracts, reclaimed for their exclusive benefit, just as among their Kandian hills, the settlers had been accustomed to sow the outside lands, the crop of which went to the feudal chief." *Taprobanian*, Vol. II, p. 127.

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buildings and screens; and they were allowed if they erected a dam for Sevuka field at Sunga Ford, and took charge of the land, stacking the crop, to thresh and take each the grain of one sheath. Over every one the Vedas were the chief men."

Again it says: "The Veda Puliyan was the chief of the Seven Wannms of Akkara Pattu. On the way to Akkara Pattu is Puliyan Tivu, he remaining there, used to send to the Muthaliyar and his family, wax, honey and other things...."

"Because he supplied pingos (i.e. presents) for the Seven Wanam, Rajapaksa Muthaliyar gave Kandi in marriage to the Veda Puliyan and he lived at Puliyan Tivu."

The next reference is by no means clear, but it shows how intermarriage between Veddas and Sinhalese might come about. The last few lines of this passage are especially difficult to understand; they seem to show that the Vedda grandfather of the girl given to the washer had recognised rights in his grandchildren, and that he was of enough importance to be propitiated with gifts of cloth.

"Besides this, Nilame Rala and his wife and people, going to Sitawakka, returned by the Bintenne road to Nadu Kadu. Whilst so coming, a Veda woman brought forth a child on the path at Sellapattu, and without cleansing it or securing the umbilical cord, left it on the path. They seeing that child, brought it up. The Veda woman returning for the child could not see it, but found the tracks of many people on the path, and went away thinking they had taken it. They brought up the child with the name of Para Natchi (Mistress Road). She was given in marriage to one Muttuvan and had 16 daughters. Of these fifteen were given in marriage, and the youngest was unmarried. Then the washer who came with them, having lost his wife, was single...they gave him in marriage the youngest daughter of the Veda woman. Children were born to these. The Sellapattu Veda hearing of this, year by year began to sell the children. That custom exists among the Paravar also, and among the Sandar. As he did so, saying they must make gifts to that Veda, buying ten cubits of broad-cloth, tearing it into pieces of four cubits, they gave it to the Veda[1]."

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[1] *The Taprobanian*, Vol. II, p. 146.

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177

It is clear that in the condition of affairs here recorded there must for many centuries have been a zone of contact between Veddas and Sinhalese, and that contact metamorphosis must have occurred in both peoples. There is abundant evidence of this, and we should not insist further on this point if it were not necessary to combat a view which, if not clearly expressed, nevertheless seems to dominate much that has been written on the Veddas. We refer to the belief that although the Veddas have been much influenced by the Sinhalese, the latter owe little or nothing to the Veddas. The former proposition finds its fullest exposition in the statement so often made to us in Ceylon that "there are no real Veddas left"; but with the exception of Nevill, we cannot find that anyone who has written on Ceylon has held that the Veddas have strongly influenced the Sinhalese[1]. That this influence was, however, of importance is shown by the fact that the families of the present aristocracy of the Vedda country are proud of their Vedda descent, which is equally acknowledged by themselves and the less wild Veddas. Thus Mr W. R. Bibile Ratemahatmaya pointed out to me that long ago his people were Veddas, and that even after certain of his ancestors had settled down and had intermarried so as to be classed as Sinhalese, there were subsequent infusions of Vedda blood into the family. It was clear that this relationship to the Veddas was the reason for the prestige he undoubtedly enjoyed among the Danigala and the Henebedda Veddas. For the same reason one of his relatives was allowed to pasture his cattle on Henebedda

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[1] Since the above was written we have learnt from Mr Parker that he regards the Kandyan Sinhalese as essentially Veddas with an infusion of foreign blood, and this view is stated in *Ancient Ceylon* (cf. especially p. 30).

It appears to us that the considerable physical differences which undoubtedly exist between the Veddas and Kandyan Sinhalese do not support this belief in anything like its extreme form, though it is but reasonable to suppose that there is Vedda blood in the inhabitants of the Kandyan districts. We do not think this is the case to any very large extent for, although constantly on the look out for Sinhalese who resembled Veddas, we did not see any except in the present Vedirata, and even there we did not see many. Further, the measurements of the Sarasins show that there is a difference of 61 mm. or nearly 2½ inches in the stature of Veddas and Kandyan Sinhalese. The actual figures which are taken from the tables at the end of the Sarasins' volume are as follows, the average of 24 Vedda men was 1·553 m. and the average of 10 Kandyans was 1·614 m.

175 territory in the neighbourhood of Pattiavelagalge cave described
in Chapter V. This was about 100 years ago, and may have
177 been connected with the troubles of the revolution which undoubtedly led to an influx of Sinhalese into the wilds of the
Vedda country.

Further, the eschatological beliefs of the Kandyan Sinhalese furnish abundant evidence that these have been influenced by the Veddas, and certain of these beliefs can be explained on no other hypothesis, unless it be asserted that the beliefs of the Veddas and those of the invading Sinhalese were from the first nearly identical. We refer particularly to the *bandara* beliefs described on pp. 141 to 145, which have probably attained to the position they now hold because, as pointed out to us by Mr Parker, it is in accordance with Sinhalese Buddhist teaching that the spirits of the deceased may become *yaku*. This of course might merely imply that Sinhalese Buddhism had originally been influenced by the Vedda Cult of the Dead, but that this is not the explanation is shown by the fact—for information concerning which we are indebted to Mr Parker—that the Low-Country Sinhalese have nothing of the Kandyan "hero and ancestor worship" as it is styled by this authority[1].

114 Sir James Emerson Tennant devoted a chapter of his monumental work to the Veddas, but interesting as this chapter is it contains "little else than a comparison of the habits of the people of the island, as observed by the ancient voyagers in the fourth and fifth centuries, with the traditional...customs of the Veddahs as reported by Knox. The accomplished author throws no new light on the wild tribes of the Veddahs as they are. On the contrary, his account of them is in some important particulars defective, and even inaccurate. He glances casually at those tribes which are in the wildest state, touching with precision none of their peculiarities, and dwells in detail upon those only, which, from long association with the Sinhalese and Tamil races, have lost much of their originality. Of the ancient aborigines he has compiled much that is curious. Of the existing Veddahs he has given us little besides an epitome of former notices."

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[1] We again quote from one of Mr Parker's letters.

So wrote John Bailey in 1863 in a footnote to the paper 114 in which his own observations are reported, and no one who knows the Veddas will disagree with him. Indeed, Bailey's paper is a remarkably careful and critical piece of work, concerning which all must agree with Nevill who recognised it as the first scientific account of the Veddas[1].

It was succeeded in 1881 by a summary by Virchow of what was then known of the Veddas, and measurements were given of a number of Vedda skulls. This paper was translated into English and published in 1886 in Vol. IX of the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. But no original detailed study of the sociology of the Veddas appeared until the extremely valuable observations of the late Hugh Nevill, to which we shall frequently refer, appeared in the *Taprobanian*, to be followed in 1893 by a magnificently illustrated work *Die Weddas von Ceylon und die sie umgebenden Völkerschaften*, published by the Doctors Paul and Fritz Sarasin, which however deals less fully with the sociology than with the physical anthropology of the Veddas[2].

Three articles by Dr L. Rutimeyer, published in 1903[3], describe the author's impressions of parties of Danigala and Henebedda Veddas who visited him at Bibile Rest House and review the then existing condition of our knowledge concerning the ethnology of the Veddas, finishing with a summary of the views expressed by the Sarasins concerning the relationship of the Veddas to other races.

As this volume will scarcely touch on physical anthropology 142 we now give a short account of the chief physical characteristics

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[1] *Taprobanian*, 1887, Vol. I, p. 175.

[2] It must not be thought, however, that the period from 1863 to 1893 was absolutely barren; Mr B. L. Hartshorne published a paper dealing with the village Veddas of Uva Bintenne in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1876, and papers on the Veddas continued to appear in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. One paper, that by C. Stevens (*Proc. Roy. As. Soc. Ceylon Branch*, 1886), must be regarded as absolutely misleading, and the value of many of these communications is reduced by the absence of data concerning the origin and mode of collection of the information given. Thus in Volume VII, 1881, Mr Louis De Zoysa published a number of Vedda songs which would be of great value if a single word were said of where, how, or by whom they were collected. This literature will be found in a bibliography given by the Sarasins on p. 594 of their work.

[3] *Die Nilgalaweddas in Ceylon.* Globus 1903.

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Plate II

Danigala Veddas on look-out rock

[facing p.16a]

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Plate III

Group of Veddas of Henebedda and Bingoda

[facing p.16 b]

Plate IV

Poromala (Walaha), headman of the Henebedda Veddas

[facing p. 160]

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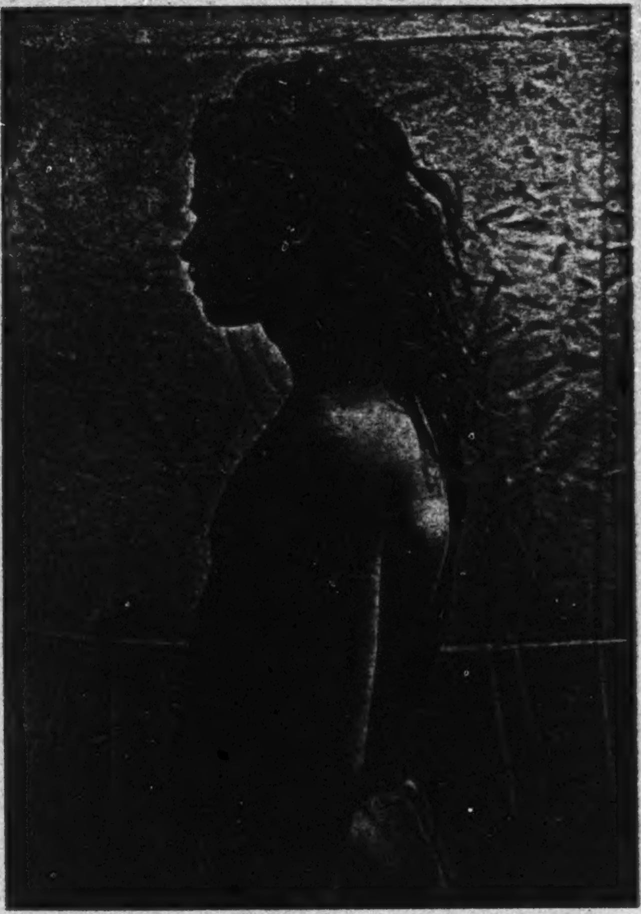
Plate V

Sita Wanniya of Henebedda

[facing p. 16d]

Plate VI



Sita Wanniya of Henebedda

[facing p. 16 e]

Plate VII

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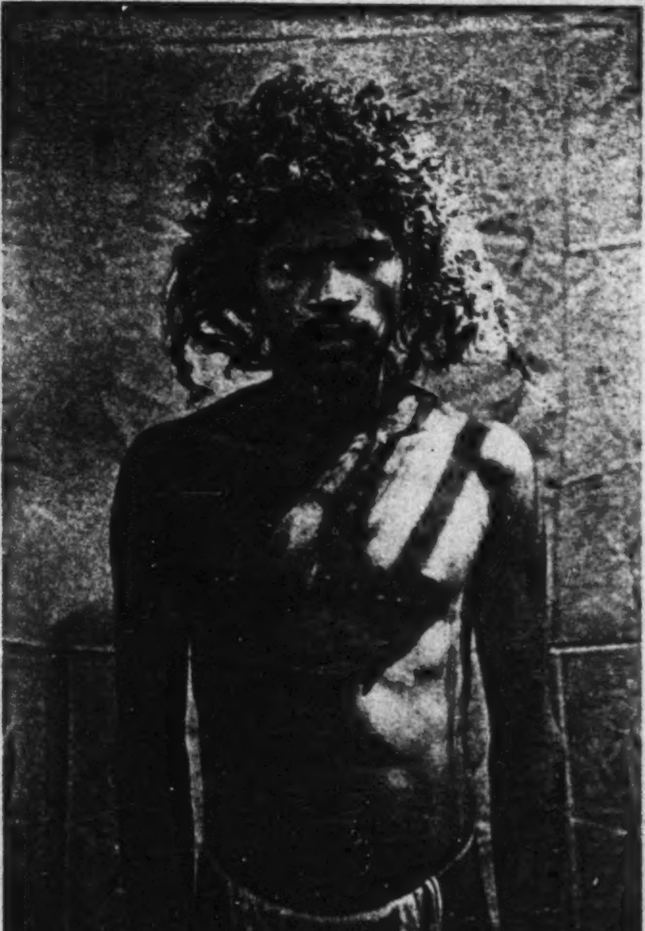

Poromala, a Henebedda youth

[facing p. 16 f]

140 of the purer Veddas in order that the reader may appreciate the bearing of what will be said in other parts of the book concerning the different groups of Veddas we visited.

The general appearance of the Veddas will be most readily appreciated by examining the photographs of pure, or nearly pure-blooded Veddas reproduced in Plates II and III. The first of these represents four men of Danigala and a half-breed boy. The oldest man is Kaira (1), the "patriarch" or senior of the Danigala group[1]. Of the three other men, his sons, the two in the foreground are Randu Wanniya (2), nearest to the pole supporting the hut, and Tuta (3). Plate III is a group of Henebedda Veddas, the relatively tall man with his hands hanging by his sides is the half-breed Appuhami (4), and the taller of the two men with axes over their shoulders, the Henebedda shaman[2], is also a half-breed. The man to the right of the shaman with bow and arrows in his hands is Kaira (5), the youth in front of him is Poromala (6), on whose left hand Tuta (7) kneels by the side of Kalua who is in the same position. The four men between Appuhami and the shaman all appear to be fairly typical Veddas; the man next to Appuhami is Poromala of Bingoda, upon whose right stand Handuna (8) and Randu Wanniya (9).

141 In stature the Veddas are short: the Sarasins measured 24 men of the "Central Vedda district" whom they considered pure-blooded and obtained an average of 1·553 mm. (60⅝ inches) with a minimum of 1·460 mm. (57½ inches) and a maximum of 1·600 mm. (63 inches). There was only one man of 1·600 mm. and 20 of the 24 men measured were below 1·575 mm. (62 inches). Eleven Vedda women of the same district gave an average

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[1] Two larger photographs of this man as he appeared some 15 years ago are given by the Sarasins (Plate VII, figure 10), who consider him a "tolerably pure-blooded Vedda." The numbers in brackets refer to the genealogy on p. 60.

[2] Shaman is the title which the Tungus give to their "spirit-conjurers." In *Hobson-Jobson* (1903) it is said that the terms shaman and shamanism "are applied in modern times to superstitions of the kind that connects itself with exorcism and 'devil-dancing' as their most prominent characteristic......The characteristic of shamanism is the existence of certain soothsayers or medicine-men, who profess a special art of dealing with the mischievous spirits who are supposed to produce illness and other calamities, and who invoke these spirits and ascertain the means of appeasing them in trance produced by fantastic ceremonies and convulsive dancings."

[errata – should be 14:; see p. xx. – [illegible]]

height of 1·433 mm.[a] (56⅜ inches) with a minimum of 1·355 mm. 141
(53⅜ inches) and a maximum of 1·500 mm. (59 inches). The median of the men was 1·545 mm. (60⅞ inches), that of the women 1·435 mm. (56½ inches). Although Veddas do not 142
become unduly fat they have, when well nourished, sturdy rather than slight figures, and a few of the older men may present rather prominent abdomens. The hair is wavy, sometimes almost curly, and in old age not rarely turns white. There is little hair upon the bodies of the purer Veddas and the growth of hair upon the face can best be described as slight or moderate, usually consisting of a rather thin moustache and sparse goatee beard.

The skin of the Veddas varies enormously, that of the face being generally somewhat lighter than that of the skin of the chest. But apart from these minor variations, the skin colour of any series of individuals will be found to vary from a deep brown-black, through various shades of bronze, in some of which a definite reddish tone can be detected, to a colour which can only be called yellowish-brown. A medium brown-black is perhaps the commonest, but apart from the darkest brown-black every colour, even the lightest, occurs in individuals whose general appearance suggests that they are pure-, or almost pure-blooded Veddas, and we have no doubt that the bronze shades occur quite as often among pure-blooded Veddas as among the less pure. Indeed our experience suggests that the occurrence of a skin colour of the darker shades of brown-black may be taken as evidence of miscegenation. The eyes are always dark 141
brown. / The head is long and narrow, the Sarasins give the average cephalic index of 17 male skulls as 70·5 (minimum 64·9 and maximum 75·9, median 71). The length-height index of the same skulls is 73 (minimum 65·4, maximum 79, median 73·4). Generally the face is long rather than broad, but in this respect there is considerable variation. Twelve skulls gave an average facial index of 88·2 (minimum 77·2, maximum 99·2, median 88·5), but ten of the skulls were over 85, the two lowest both giving an index of about 77.

The brow ridges are well marked so that the eyes appear 142
deeply set or even sunken. The chin is somewhat pointed and

[a] [errata, should be m.; see p. xx. —Analyst]

142 is rarely prominent. The lips, though well developed, are not tumid (except sometimes in the young); sometimes the mouth is rather flat. This when accompanied by moderately prominent cheek bones gives some faces an expression of considerable energy. The jaw is not prognathous, the nostrils are moderately broad, the root of the nose is depressed but never flattened to any considerable degree. The average of the nasal indices of 17 skulls gave the figure 52·7 (minimum 43·3, maximum 62·2, 141 median 52·3), which is just short of the index (53) at which platyrrhiny is commonly assumed to begin. Nevertheless we believe that the Veddas may more fairly be classed as mesorrhine than platyrrhine, for certainly the impression made on us by the living was that they were not specially broad-nosed. The capacity of the 18 male skulls described by the Sarasins varies from 1012 to 1502 c.c. with an average of 1278 c.c.: none of the three female Vedda skulls from the inner Vedda district have a capacity of less than 1150 c.c., though there is a skull of an adult Vedda woman in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons with a capacity of only 960 c.c.

Summing up the physical characters to which we have briefly referred we may define the Veddas as a short, wavy-haired, dolichocephalic race, with moderately long faces and moderately broad noses. Expressing the results of measurements taken by the Sarasins we may say that cha~~m~~maeprosopes[a] and leptoprosopes occur in about equal numbers, and that the Veddas are mesorrhine or present a low grade of platyrrhiny.

The latest Vedda literature of any importance is a volume 114 published by the Sarasins which records the work they did 172 in Ceylon during 1907 when they established the existence of a stone age upon the island. This fact had not been realised before, though two naturalists, Mr E. E. Green and Mr J. Pole, both old residents, had already collected and recognised as artifacts the quartz implements which were the typical product of the stone age in Ceylon, and which, as pointed out by the Sarasins, are most reasonably to be attributed to the Veddas. A number of rock shelters were explored; these were situated at Kataragam in the south of the island where no Veddas now exist, and in other parts of Uva, in the present Vedda country.

[a] [erratum, see p. xx. —Analyst]

Not all the caves investigated yielded evidence of prehistoric 114
habitation, but from a certain number were obtained quartz,
chert and shell implements which put the matter beyond doubt 172
and conclusively show that Ceylon formerly possessed a stone age. The greater part of the volume is taken up by an account of prehistoric quartz and chert artifacts, and the excellent reproductions given by the authors show that the quartz implements they discovered belong to the same type as those found by ourselves and described elsewhere[1].

But in addition the Sarasins found hammer stones, a few pieces of worked bone, and a series of shells of the large land snail (*Helix phoenix*), the curve of each shell being occupied by a circular hole large enough to allow of its sharp edge being used as a cutting tool[2].

Plate VIII shows a number of typical Vedda implements. 172
All are of quartz except No. 2 which is of chert. Nos. 1 and 3 324
are worked on one side only, the unworked side being shown in order to illustrate the well-marked bulb of percussion which distinguishes many of the specimens. The general characteristics of these implements are so well shown in the plate that a description in detail is not necessary. Attention may, however, be called to figures 6, 8 and 9; the first of these shows a large part of the outer surface of the quartz pebble from which it was made. No. 8 belongs to a type of which numerous examples occur among European stone implements, this specimen is thicker than is usual and measures 15 mm. from one surface to the other. No. 9 can scarcely have been intended for anything but an arrow head, two views are given of this remarkable implement which comes from a cave on the Scarborough Estate at Maskeliya, and for a drawing of which I am indebted to Mr Pole. No. 2 is of chert and was found in the same cave; two views of this implement are given. The localities from which the other specimens were collected were as follows: No. 1 was found by Mr Pole at Maskeliya, No. 3 we picked up at Bandarawela, No. 4 was collected by Mr Green

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[1] C. G. Seligmann, "Quartz Implements from Ceylon," *Man*, 1908, 63.

[2] These shells in fact constitute a primitive plane or spokeshave and resemble those found in Queensland and some parts of South America at the present day.

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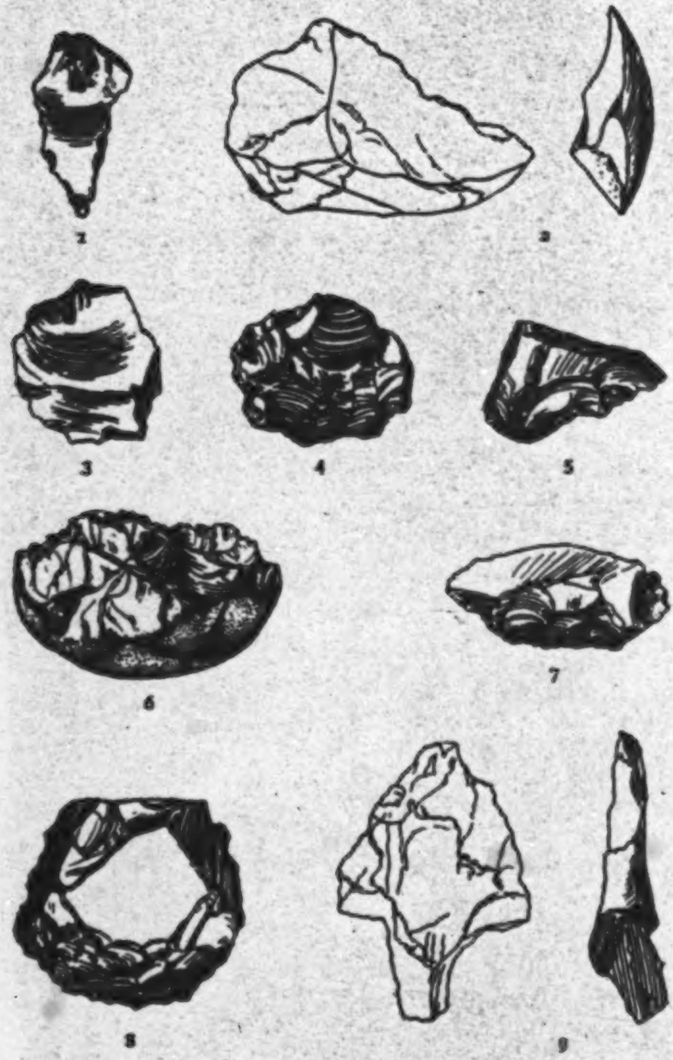
Plate VIII



Quartz and chert implements

[facing p. 20]

near Peradeniya, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are in Mr Pole's collection and were found by him near Maskeliya.

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The questions raised by the discovery of implements such as those figured are so many and interesting that no excuse is needed for considering some of the issues at length. The data are the caves excavated by the Sarasins in which prehistoric implements were found, and our own work in Ceylon including the partial excavation of the Bendiyagalge caves which are described and figured in Chapter IV.

In the first place if we accept the suggestion that Veddas, the ancestors of those still existing, are responsible for these implements, their distribution will give valuable information as to the former extent of the Vedda country. It may be said at once that the distribution of these implements, as far as it is at present known, agrees with our historic knowledge of the extent of the Vedda domain, and adds to it the heights of Uva up to about 4000 feet (Bandarawela), the country around Kandy, and the hill country to the south (Gampola) and in the neighbourhood of Adam's Peak (Maskeliya)[1]. And since they have been found in the neighbourhood of Matale they add an interesting confirmation to what Mr Parker has said on p. 9 concerning the former occurrence of Veddas in this part of the country. Within the last few months the range of these implements has been extended south to the neighbourhood of Ratnapura, where a number of excellent specimens were found by the late James Parsons, who wrote to us concerning them as follows: "I dug out a cave in Sabaragamuwa in a ravine to the north-east of Ratnapura which was most interesting. I have full notes of the cave—briefly it is sufficiently high above the stream for it to have been impossible for it to enter the cave in

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[1] We consulted the late James Parsons, Director of the Mineral Survey, concerning the geological formation of the rounded grassy hills near Bandarawela called *patana*, upon which we had independently collected many quartz artifacts. He informed us that the capping of these hills usually consists of more or less disintegrated granular quartz rock, but that this did not seem to contain nearly enough clear quartz to produce the flakes even as a "survival of the fittest" in the process of disintegration. Parsons did however find several water-worn pebbles, all broken, but there were not enough to lead him to think they represented a capping gravel, although in the case of the Peradeniya locality there is no doubt that there is river gravel on the hill.

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geologically recent times. To a depth of 8 feet the cave is full of black earth containing many shells of the big tree snail mixed with the river shells, *bellan* (*Paludina ceylonica*), in such abundance that these shells are now occasionally collected and burnt for chunam. A shell is said to occur that is found only in the river at Ratnapura, but I did not succeed in finding it. The tradition is that the molluscs were used as food by 'an ancient Tamil people.' The shells are not calcined, but with them were a number of flakes of clear quartz—mostly made from pebbles, some of them the best I have seen and undoubtedly neolithic.... I do not think there can be any reasonable doubt about them. At a depth of five feet very rotten fragments of the top of a human skull and the region of the ear besides bits of long bones and some pieces of chert not obviously worked. At the entrance of the cave there is a sort of dyke thrown up, which is full of flakes some of which appear to be ground and polished."

Parsons' premature death renders it unlikely that a full account of this find will ever be published, but owing to the kindness of Mrs Parsons we have been able to examine a number of the implements excavated by her husband. These include a number of cores, worked flakes and scrapers, and one flake of chert showing a bulb of percussion, but none of the specimens that I have handled show any signs of polishing[1].

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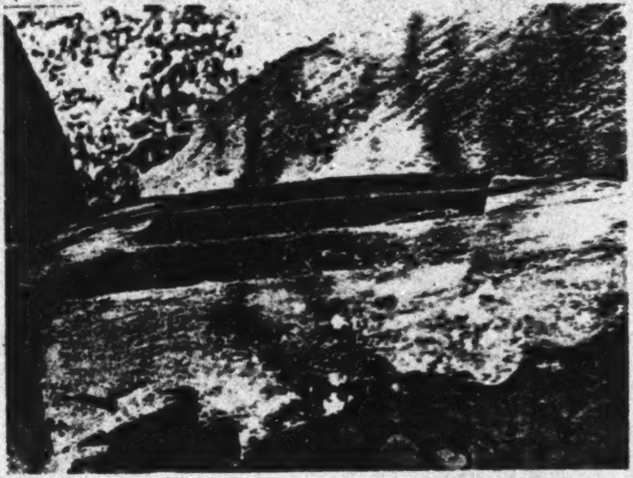
[1] Since the above was written we have received the following account of the cave from Mr W. D. Holland on whose property we understand the cave is situated. "The cave is situated about a mile from my bungalow on the N. bank of a small stream and some 10 to 15 feet above present water level. The cave has been formed by the weathering out of a soft core of rock from gneiss of the ordinary kind and may have been assisted by the action of the stream when running at a higher level. The cave is a fairly large one and would accommodate several families, say 15 or 20 individuals, and is quite dry inside. It appears to have been banked up in front, but this may have been caused by debris falling from the cliff above. The strike I believe coincides with the stream S.W. N.W. We dug a pit about 5 feet in diameter and about 7 or 8 feet deep, and came upon a lot of shells of the *belan* or water snail and some bones: a much shattered portion of the latter we thought to be a portion of a human skull, and Mr Parsons subsequently informed me by letter that this had been confirmed in Colombo....The quartz flakes were not found in the cave, but on the entrance bank where they had been exposed by the drip from the rock above washing the earth away and leaving them. The old inhabitants would naturally work at the entrance for the sake of light. I know only of this one cave in this neighbourhood. The stream *flows* S.W. to the Kaluganga (eventually), and

M2

Plate IX



Steps cut in the rock at Bendiyagalge

[facing p. 22]

With regard to the distribution in time of these implements, it seems that they are of respectable, but of no great antiquity. They are found abundantly on the surface of the open grassy *patanas* at Bandarawela and also on the surface of the soil near Kandy and scattered everywhere in the neighbourhood of Maskeliya over the ground planted with tea. Considering that Ceylon is a well vegetated country with an abundant rainfall, these facts do not point to any high antiquity even if it is allowed that in the tea country the cultivation of a century has lowered the level by 9 to 12 inches, the estimate given by planters whom we questioned.

The evidence from the caves seems to point in the same direction. The Bendiyagalge caves present well marked drip ledges and many signs such as the steps (Plate IX) hewn in the rock, between the upper and lower caves, which show that they were used by the Sinhalese during the efflorescence of Buddhism before, or about the beginning of, the present era. This date is made perfectly certain by the occurrence in one of the caves, a few miles from Bendiyagalge and used by the same Veddas, of a typical drip ledge associated with an inscription of which Mr H. C. P. Bell, archaeological commissioner, says, "The Brahmi [characters] are of the oldest type, therefore B.C." This inscription has been read by the same authority as,—"(cave of) the chief...son of the chief Vela." It is therefore clear that these caves were at one time—about 2000 years ago—inhabited

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rises about 1½ miles (bee line) to the east in the range which forms the watershed of the Kaluganga and Wallawe rivers. The elevation is approximately 1900 feet and the cave faces S. (about). The Sinhalese have used this cave for a mine for the shells of the *belan*, which they burn into lime to eat with betel leaf. A large number of shells must have been removed but notwithstanding there must still be an enormous quantity left. We were also informed by the natives that there are two kinds of *belan* shells found in the cave, only one of which is found in the neighbouring streams and the other must have been brought from some distance in the Ratnapura direction, 15 or so miles, and they inferred that these had been brought by whoever had lived in the cave, presumably for food. We also found some fragments of pottery (chatties) with the quartz flakes, which the Sinhalese said were of a thinner kind not made now; these however were no doubt left by Sinhalese gemmers or refugees at a later date, as caves in the jungle are still used by them if no houses are near. The rainfall of the district is heavy, some 150 inches. The cave would I think well repay a thorough exploration, but it should be undertaken by someone who has experience in such work and would be expensive."

by Sinhalese who, as the results of excavation showed, had left behind them abundant evidence of their occupation of the cave. This will be clear from the following short account of our partial exploration of these caves.

The nature of its bottom made the lower cave the easier to examine, accordingly a longitudinal trench about a foot wide was dug in the long axis of the lower cave. The first six inches yielded fragments of pottery and a number of bones, a much rusted catty, and an areca nut cutter, both of the pattern in common use. A good many fragments of charcoal were found in the upper 12 to 18 inches, and several pieces of iron slag—perhaps six in all—as well as a number of land shells lying in groups, were found at a depth of from 1 to 2 feet. Bones and fragments of pottery continued to occur until a depth of about 2 feet was reached. Massive rock, which was taken to be the bed rock of the cave, was reached at about 2½ feet, and within a few inches of this were found many fragments of quartz—some milky, some ice-clear, some faintly opalescent, some smoky and some amethystine. A few of these were as big as hens' eggs, the majority varied from the size of an apricot to a haricot bean, some were even smaller. From the large number of pieces of quartz—nearly 300—collected at the depth mentioned from this trench, and a small trench driven at right angles to it, as well as the absence of pieces of country rock, there can be no doubt that these pieces of quartz were brought to the site in which they were found by man. They were not water-worn, and the variety of colour and opacity they presented make it certain that they had not weathered out in situ, in spite of the fact that quartz (but not as far as we could determine ice-clear quartz) occurs in segregation masses in the gneissic rock of the neighbourhood. Further, when all the fragments were carefully washed and examined it was found that some three per cent. of the pieces of quartz obtained from this cave showed signs of working. Additional proof that the fragments of quartz had been brought by man to the site on which they were found were afforded by some irregular digging done in the upper cave formed by the same rock mass as the lower cave, and separated from it only by a few feet. The floor of this

172 cave was so rocky that a regular trench could not be dug, but a number of holes, the largest perhaps 6 feet by 4 feet, were dug down to what was apparently the country rock at the bottom of the cave. Fragments of pottery and the bones of animals were found in plenty in these holes, but altogether they yielded only four pieces of quartz, namely two water-worn pebbles and two broken pieces of clear glassy quartz. As in the lower cave a few small pieces of slag were found some 18 inches to 2 feet below the level of the surface. Most of the fragments of pottery found in both caves in the first 2 feet are decorated and are certainly not the remains of Vedda pots, and since fragments of iron slag are found associated with this pottery, the deposit in which it occurs must be regarded as formed not earlier than the Sinhalese occupation of the cave. As already stated massive rock was found six inches lower, and from these last few inches were obtained quartz implements and many unworked pieces of quartz. Clearly then the people responsible for these occupied the caves before the Sinhalese, but there is no obvious reason for holding that the makers of these implements antedated the Sinhalese by any long period. All that can be affirmed is that no pottery was found associated with the quartz fragments either by the Sarasins or by ourselves, but this is no sign of great age considering the extreme roughness of the pots made by the Veddas at the present day, and the fact that the art is believed, doubtless correctly, to have been adopted from the Sinhalese. One of us has already stated in *Man* his beliefs that these implements are neolithic and this is also the opinion of Mr Reginald Smith. Considering the refractory nature of the material, and allowing for the fact that it does not occur in large masses, the better formed implements must be regarded as neolithic in type, and in this connection it is significant that the bones found associated with the implements by the Sarasins are those of existing forms. These authors, however, believe that the implements they found are paleolithic, arguing that the absence of pottery and stone adze heads proves that they cannot be neolithic, though they apparently admit that in many respects the best implements approach neolithic forms.

174 The mention of these stone implements naturally brings

us to the consideration of the advent of metal in Ceylon. We know of no fact indicating that this was not worked in the island before the advent of Vijaya, on the contrary, Vijaya and his band were obviously only one of many parties of settlers who came from India in prehistoric times. Perhaps the record in the Mahavansa of the coming of Buddha to Mahayangana refers to one such immigrant party, and the legend of Rama may with even more probability be taken to refer to an invasion from the mainland. It is quite certain that Vijaya found some sort of stable political organization on his arrival in the island to which he came after his followers had been repulsed from Jambudipa on account of their lawless character. The account in the Mahavansa by no means suggests that Ceylon was absolutely *terra incognita*, and the readiness with which communication with the mainland was kept up, and the facility with which other bands of adventurers arrive, confirms this.

Although these bands probably came from the valley of the Ganges there is evidence that there were highly civilised maritime powers in Southern India 2000 years ago. The Mahavansa states in the most matter of fact way that Vijaya sought and obtained the hand of a Hindu bride, the daughter of the king of an important Tamil state, and nothing is said as to difficulties encountered by his ambassadors in proceeding to the court of the Pandyan king, or by the princess in coming to Ceylon. Again a Pandyan king twice sent ambassadors to Rome to Augustus Caesar, B.C. 26 and 20, and Strabo records that the annual exports to India reached the large sum of 55,000,000 sesterces (nearly £500,000)[1]. There is therefore every reason to believe that the early colonists from India were metal workers. Indeed, the matter becomes almost a certainty when it is remembered that no authenticated polished stone adze or axe head has been discovered in Ceylon, although many ancient sites have been excavated in certain districts, and gemming operations involving the digging out and examination of thousands of tons of gravel have taken place.

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[1] For these facts I am indebted to a work *The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*, by Mr V. Kanakasabhai Pillai (Madras and Bangalore, 1904). Mr Pillai further states (p. 3) that from a "careful study of ancient Tamil poems" he is "led to think that some of the earliest works were undoubtedly composed more than two thousand years ago, and that the Tamil people acquired wealth and civilisation at this early period by their commercial intercourse with foreign nations such as the Arabs, Greeks, Romans and Japanese."

Probably the Nagas referred to in the Mahavansa are an immigrant race, and Mr Parker suggests that they may have been an offshoot of the Nayars of South-west India. Whether this is so or not the Nagas, according to Sinhalese historical works, drove the aborigines out of North and West Ceylon and "all Ceylon down to about Madawachchiya was known as Nagadipa (the Island of the Nagas) for many centuries after Christ[1]." Further, the compiler of the Mahavansa who wrote about the end of the fifth century A.D. relates that after appearing to the "yakkhas" at Mahayangana, Buddha visited Nagadipa where he composed a quarrel between Mahodara and Culodara a maternal uncle and nephew concerning the ownership of a "gem-set throne." It is further recorded that "the maternal uncle of Mahodara Mani Akkhika, the Naga king of Kalyani" near Colombo, was visited by Buddha at Kalyani on which account the Kalyani dagaba was subsequently built[2].

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[1] This information is taken from one of Mr Parker's letters.

[2] The general tendency at the present time seems to be to regard the Nagas as mythical beings connected with the water. We cannot regard this belief as well founded, although it is only necessary to look through Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham's book (*The Sun and the Serpent*, London, 1905), to appreciate how many Nagas are regarded as demigods or heroes at the present day. But considering the extensive distribution of ancestor worship throughout India, this cannot be taken as an argument against the existence of human beings called Nagas, who must be distinguished from their deified dead.

There are at the present day powerful tribes called Nagas in Assam yet, as pointed out by Brigade Surgeon Oldham, the folklore of Northern India is full of legends connected with the supernatural powers of the Nagas. "These demigods are still propitiated, before any other deity, when the country is suffering from drought or excessive rain. And tradition says that human sacrifices were common, on such occasions, in days gone by." (*Op. cit.* pp. 49, 50.)

Burnouf (quoted by Oldham, *op. cit.* pp. 146, 147), records that in the time of Asoka the Nagas were numerous and powerful, for when "this king wishing to divide the relics of Buddha amongst the new stupas which he had built, went with an army to remove the relics from the old stupa at Ramagrama, the Nagas refused to allow him to do so. And Asoka, powerful as he was, did not persist.

"In the Vishnu Purana (IV, xxiv, 479, cited by Oldham, p. 147), it is said that nine Nagas will reign in Padmavati, Kantipura, and Mathura," and Oldham quotes Sir A. Cunningham to the effect that "these serpent chiefs, whose names he gives

All these facts suggest that metal must have been known in Ceylon before the invasion by Vijaya, and once introduced, there is no doubt that within a few years metal would have been distributed throughout the whole island.

Although the Veddas are all agreed that they were never otherwise in habits and culture than they are at the present time, every Sinhalese in the Vedirata believes that they once had great, powerful and wealthy chiefs and that they possessed hoards of gold and gems. Nevill, who takes somewhat their view, says: "Sinhalese, who are old and intelligent, and who have lived among Vaeddas, all agree that in ancient times Vaeddas...were often very rich and powerful. In such cases their wealth was put into gold cooking vessels, and strings of gems, etc., for their women. Poorer men had copper cooking vessels. The last of these gold vessels were lost by them during the long guerilla wars between the Kandians of Velasse and Dumbara, and Europeans, especially the English. The tradition is positive, and seems reliable. Nigala Banda, a splendid old Kandian chief, now Ratemahatmaya of Lower Bintenne, whose ancestors have lived amongst the Vaeddas of Nilgala from time immemorial, assures me there is no mistake in this, but their former use of gold cooking vessels is clearly true, and that people now-a-days have no idea how proud and powerful they were, until the *maha kaeraella* (the long war with the English)."

We could discover no reason for this belief, which seems to be effectually disposed of by the evidence of the very old Sinhalese informant whom we quote at the beginning of the next chapter. It is, however, firmly rooted in the minds of the majority of the Kandyan Sinhalese and is probably in part due to confusion between Veddas and Kandyans of mixed Vedda descent who until recently called themselves Veddas or were known as Veddas to their neighbours. Many such men living in the Vedirata took care to keep in touch with the

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from their coins, held most of the country between the Jumna and the Narbada; and that they ruled as independent princes during the first two centuries of the Christian era" (*loc. cit.*). Mr Vincent Smith points out that the defeat of a Naga chief, Ganapati Naga, is recorded on one of the pillars set up by Samudra Gupta who reigned in the fourth century A.D. (*Early History of India*, 1908, p. 268).

174 Veddas, who to some extent looked upon them as chiefs and protectors, and to whom they made presents of game and honey. Another factor leading to the belief in the former glory of the Veddas is the persistence in popular form of the legend of Vijaya and Kuweni, which though absolutely unknown to the Veddas is firmly established among the Sinhalese.

# CHAPTER II

## PRESENT CONDITION OF THE VEDDAS

WE propose to treat the Veddas under three headings :— 101

(i) Veddas.
(ii) Village Veddas.
(iii) Coast Veddas.

Although it may not be easy in every case to say into which group a given person falls, and although the proposed classification rests on no natural or known physical basis, it seems that at the present day the Veddas fall into these three groups characterised by different sociological features. The term "Rock" or "Jungle" Vedda will be avoided; it has been applied by some authors to the wilder specimens of that class which we propose to call simply Veddas.

The coast Veddas are briefly described in Chapter XII.; they live in scattered villages on the east coast and are chiefly [563] to be found north of Batticaloa. They have much Tamil blood in their veins, and though often taller than pure Veddas, some still retain an appearance which suggests their Vedda origin. This is far more marked in the males than in the females, and it appeared to us that any of the latter might have been local Tamils, whereas some of the men clearly differed from the surrounding population.

Before giving an account of the present condition of the different Vedda communities, we propose to give the substance of a number of conversations with a remarkable old Kandyan who in his boyhood, youth and manhood was closely associated with the Veddas of the Eastern Province, and whose memory certainly goes back for 80 or 90 years. In order to make his 115

115 account intelligible we must anticipate certain later chapters to the extent of defining the terms *waruge* and *yaka*, that is we must refer briefly to the essential features of the Vedda social system and religion.

614 Every Vedda belongs to a *waruge* or clan, as the term may be translated, and among a large number of the Vedda communities still existing, exogamy is the absolute rule. Further, with exogamy is associated descent in the maternal line, so that the fundamentals of the social system of the Veddas may, perhaps, be summed up as a clan organization with female descent. There is no evidence, as far as we can determine, of any dual organization of the clans, but perhaps they had originally a territorial distribution. Ignoring for a moment such debatable matters, the Vedda clans are:—

(1) Morane *waruge*.
(2) Unapane *waruge*.
(3) Namadewa or Nabudan *waruge*.
(4) Aembela *waruge*.
(5) Uru *waruge*.
(6) Tala *waruge*.
(7) A number of other so-called *waruge* of minor strength and importance, which perhaps may be local groups that have forgotten their origin and have assumed a name (sometimes obviously a place-name) as a convenience.

769 Turning now to the Vedda religion the word *yaka* (feminine *yakini*, plural *yaku*) is used to denote the spirits of the dead, and since the Vedda religion is essentially a cult of the dead, it is not surprising that the propitiation of the spirits of dead relatives, called the Nae Yaku, is at once its most obvious and important feature. With this is associated the cult of the spirits of certain long dead Veddas who may be regarded as legendary heroes. The most important of these is Kande Yaka, the *yaka* of Kande Wanniya, a celebrated hunter who lived many generations ago and whose assistance is invoked for good hunting. Kande Yaka especially helps in the tracking of sambur and spotted deer, and with him is often associated Bilindi Yaka, the *yaka* of his younger brother Bilindi. When a deer has been killed the head is set aside, and with rice and

coconut milk (when procurable) dedicated to Kande Yaka, after 769 which it is eaten with the rice. An essentially similar ceremony often spoken of by the same name (*kirikoraha*), but in which no meat is offered, is held after a death in order to propitiate the spirit of the dead man. The majority of Veddas believe that the Nae Yaku go to Kande Yaka, and become in some sense his attendants, and Kande Yaka, sometimes accompanied by Bilindi Yaka, is generally invoked at the beginning of the Nae Yaku ceremony. It was stated more than once that the Nae Yaku could not come to the offering unless accompanied by Kande Yaka, who was even spoken of as bringing the Nae Yaku. Some of our informants also said that the spirit of the deceased resorted to Kande Yaka and obtained his permission to accept offerings from his living relatives, in return for which the Nae Yaka would assist or injure them according to their behaviour, so that Kande Yaka, besides being of the greatest assistance in hunting, has also become the Lord of the Dead.

The Kandyan already mentioned, whose full title is 115: Karagahaveila Adenayaka Mudiyanselage Tissahami, visited 145 us at Bandaraduwa; he lived at Bakiyella some ten miles from our camp. Mr Bibile, who was distantly related to the old man, told us that he must be nearly a hundred years old, since he had been brought to the wild country of the Eastern Province by his mother during the rebellion of 1818, his father having fallen in the fighting. His hair, of which he retained a fair quantity, was absolutely white and worn short, his complexion was pale with age, he had a slight unilateral facial paralysis and he walked with the aid of a stick, his back being bowed and both knees somewhat flexed; but he was withal an extraordinarily active old man, extremely intelligent and with an excellent memory, the play of the muscles of his face showing how well he realised the import of the questions addressed to him and how much they interested him. Further, his frank replies when he did not understand a question and the emphatic manner in which he delivered his answers carried conviction of the value of his evidence, and we believe that no one who listened to the old man would have considered him other than a good witness.

115 There were both "wild" and "village" Veddas even in the
days of his youth, and the only difficulty experienced with the
old man was in keeping the two classes perfectly distinct in his
mind. The following facts were elicited in the course of three
interviews, each lasting somewhat less than an hour. He
stated that he was just able to walk when he came to the
Eastern Province, and that as he grew up he spent much of his
time with the Veddas hunting and collecting honey. The
156 Veddas of those days were a merry people, and with a most
eloquent gesture the old man showed how they would throw dry
leaves into the air and shout and dance for happiness; he said
also that they were absolutely truthful. Every Vedda carried a
bow and arrows and an axe; more arrows than one were
411 carried, but it was not clear that they only carried two; it
seemed that *tudadi*, a word that the old man said was used to
describe the number of arrows carried, may have meant a small
quantity or may have been a hunting term corresponding to
"brace" or "leash." The old man had seen Veddas shoot lying
on their backs and holding the bow with their feet, but this was
only for amusement and to show their skill, no serious shooting
was done in this way. The feathers of peacocks, herons and
hawks were especially used in feathering arrows; any of these
birds would be shot with an ordinary arrow, and peacock was
262 eaten as was jungle fowl, though no one would eat porcupine or
buffalo; for these abstinences he could give no reason. Traps
were not used. Fish were eaten, being caught by poisoning the
226 water of pools with the bark of *damba*, *nahapata*, *puselpain*
278 (? *Entada scandens*) and the fruit of *timbiri* (*Diospyros embryopteris*) and *kuduruman* (*Adenanthera bicolor*). Pots and bark
415 cloth bags were made and betel pouches of monkey skin, though
even then some village Veddas had cloth betel bags, and these
occasionally reached the wilder Veddas. Among the village
304 Veddas both sexes bored their ears and the women wore ivory
301 studs in them; whether the women of the wilder groups bored
184 their ears and wore these ornaments was not clear, certainly
372 the men did not. Fire was obtained from two pieces of wood
by drilling.

342 The wilder Veddas of those days built no houses but lived
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entirely in caves; trading places called *wadia* near the caves, 342
but out of sight of them, under a tree or rock, were used for 437
bartering, where all strangers would stop and shout and then
wait until their calls had been answered from the caves.

The Veddas were extremely jealous of their women, and 562
intimate as our informant was with them as a young man, he
was never taken to their caves while their women were there.
The wilder Veddas could not count, at least they used no 802
numerals beyond one, the method being to say "one" "and
one" "and one," etc., probably putting a piece of stick on the
ground or making a mark for each unit mentioned. Both hands
with fingers extended were held up for ten, or perhaps for any
number above six. The "silent trade" was only a tradition 437
even among the wildest Veddas and had probably been extinct
in this part of the country for at least two generations. The
wilder Veddas had no areca nuts but chewed the bark of trees 276
mixed with lime which they obtained by burning land shells
which they called *wantako*.

Cousin marriage took place, the unions being arranged by 582
the parents of the young people. Honey, dried venison and 584
flesh of the monitor lizard were brought by the young man to 583
the girl's father[1], who would call his daughter and give her in
charge of her husband, for whom she would immediately make
a waist string (*dia lanuwa*). She made no pretence of running
away from her husband. Widows married an unmarried brother 587-
of their first husband if this were possible, in any case they 831
might remarry and their sexual morality was as high as that of
unmarried girls.

The wilder Veddas of the district belonged to the Morane 614
and Unapane *waruge*; each clan had its own set of caves, 554
though, since their members intermarried, there could have been
no rigid exclusiveness about the arrangement. There were
people of Uru *waruge* at a little distance; their status was lower 582
than that of the Morane and Unapane folk, neither of whom
would marry into this clan, and it was even said that the men of

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[1] It was not clear whether more than one formal present of food was made; it must be remembered that a youth always gives part of any important kill to his potential father-in-law, cf. p. 67.

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554 Uru *waruge* should carry game and honey for the men of Morane and Unapane.

Some of the village Veddas of those days had cloth, and
291 when dancing to the *yaku* they wore the long cloth garment
184 called *hangalla*; the wilder Veddas had no cloth and wore leaves, but it was not clear whether they had not also a certain amount of bark cloth which was their ordinary covering, and leaves may have been worn in addition when they invoked the *yaku*[1].

685 The old man knew of the custom of a man keeping a piece
609 of human liver in his betel pouch; it was universal and in his
778 young days every Vedda desired to have a piece. Strangers,
826 even Veddas, who intruded on the hunting grounds would be killed and their liver taken, no other part of the dead man being used, and the custom gave rise neither to warfare nor to vendettas[2].

764 Caves in which a death occurred were deserted, the corpse
768 being covered with leaves; perhaps men very near dissolution were left before death had actually occurred, but this did not seem certain. Bones found in the cave when the group returned to it after an interval of some ten or twelve years were thrown
775 away quite carelessly. The spirits of the dead became the Nae
769 Yaku who, with Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, gave game and prosperity. The *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed for the Nae Yaku, and *adukku* (cooked food), which even in the old days consisted of coconut and rice, was offered to them. The wilder
771 Veddas gave nothing to the Buddhist priests and made no offer-
184 ings at shrines, nor did they know the Kataragam God, Kanda Swami, though the village Veddas worshipped him and knew that Walliame had been taken to wife by him, and honey was presented to the goddess at certain shrines, especially one at Kokote Sila, frequented by the village Veddas.

535 A few of the village Veddas would dance for the Sinhalese
751 in order to protect their cattle, bring prosperity to their villages, and secure them from epidemics; they would dance *kalamaduwa* which the old man pointed out was derived from a

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[1] Cf. p. 213.

[2] For details of this custom see Chapter VIII.

shorter ceremony *ruwela*, this being an older name than *kolamaduwa*[1]. 535 751

It appeared that the invocations at present in use among the Kovil Vanamai Veddas were those used in the old man's youth, for although he had not, as he stated (truthfully we believe), been closely associated with the Veddas for many years he recognised a number of Vedda invocations which were sung to him, as identical with those sung in his youth, and named the occasions on which each was used. *Maligi* was recognised as sung when honey was taken; the invocation at the beginning of the *kirikoraha* ceremony (cf. p. 285) was promptly named, and the occasions of its use pointed out, but the charm used when driving monkeys was not recognised. A song sung for amusement by the Veddas beginning *Mamini mamini ma deyo* was immediately recognised, as were two of the invocations of the Kolamaduwa ceremony, but considering how Sinhalese in substance this ceremony is this is perhaps not of much importance. 782

At the present day the number of Veddas living their natural forest life is necessarily few, for their territory has been gradually encroached upon by the Sinhalese who are inveterate poachers. The Veddas, who were never numerous within recent historic times, are now rapidly dying out, while many have settled among the Sinhalese and so lost their identity. We met with only four families who still led the life described by Bailey in 1863, and these were not among the Nilgala but among the Nuwaragala Hills. At Nilgala itself there are no Veddas at the present day, though the local peasant Sinhalese doubtless have much Vedda blood in their veins. The Henebedda and Danigala Veddas are the descendants of those recorded by Bailey in 1863, and the Kovil Vanamai Veddas are the descendants of those known and described by the old Kandyan who visited us at Bandaraduwa. 161

**Hennebedda.** At Hennebedda we met a number of families living together in the Bendiyagalge caves. They had come to this their largest cave, from several settlements all within a few hours' journey. The genealogies show that at least 166 563

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[1] These ceremonies are described in Chapter IX.

Plate X

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Fig. 1. A chena settlement of the Henebedda Veddas

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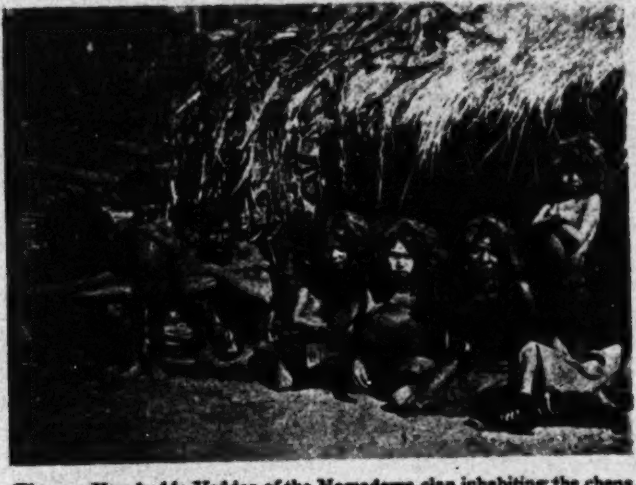

Fig. 2. Henebedda Veddas of the Namadewa clan inhabiting the chena settlement

[facing p. 36]

166 in one instance there had been intermarriage with Sinhalese,
563 and we suspected this in other cases, though the majority appear
to be reasonably pure-blooded.

361 These people make chenas[1] on which they live temporarily
231 in bark-covered huts; Plate X, figure 1, represents the chena
settlement of the local group of the Namadewa *waruge*, some of
the members of which are shown in Plate X, figure 2. They
gather honey and hunt, several of them possess guns, and some
[222 of them rear cattle for the Sinhalese villagers. Indeed, for
224] Veddas their lot is singularly happy, since they live in the heart
of the park country where game is still abundant. Bailey first
induced some Veddas in the Nilgala district to make chenas
about the middle of the last century, before which all the
Veddas in this district were probably living their natural hunting, honey-gathering life.

It is not often that a community that has taken to the semi-
361 civilised life of chena cultivation is seen, in which its members
511 are so healthy and well fed, for Veddas dislike settling down
and do not generally do so until they find they can no longer
subsist on the game in the country, when they either drift into
Sinhalese settlements, or make extremely rough chenas for
themselves, the produce of which is seldom sufficient to feed the
community. Besides which, as is the case with the Sinhalese
peasants themselves, the crop is often pledged to Moormen
pedlars before it is reaped. The poor Veddas then subsist
[164] as best they can on yams, honey and berries, and usually fall
a prey to fever. Several Veddas in this wretched condition
were seen between Namal Oya and Bandaraduwa, while those at
Godatalawa were scarcely better off.

In the Nilgala district the conditions are different. Chena making and cattle rearing had been introduced while game was still abundant, families are still able to leave the chena settlement and hunt and gather honey, living during such times in rock shelters within their own hunting boundary. However, the

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[1] Bailey defines a chena as "a patch of ground cleared from the forest for cultivation. The jungle is burnt down, a crop taken off, and then suffered to grow up again: it is reclaimed again after intervals of from five to ten years," *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. N.S.* Vol. ii, 1863, p. 282.

Veddas are coming more and more in contact with their 361 511
Sinhalese neighbours, and it is extremely unlikely that the next
generation will remain pure.

We visited two of the nearest chena settlements of these 361
people, the huts (Plate X, figure 1) were about as well built as
those of the average Sinhalese chena, though the cultivation
itself was certainly less systematic and orderly. The Namadewa
folk lived in one settlement while the Morane and Unapane
inhabited another.

Although all these Veddas have come in contact with the 177
Sinhalese and are visited by Moormen hawkers for trade 439
purposes—as indeed even the wildest have been for many 609
generations—they have retained their old custom of not allowing
the stranger in the midst of their settlement where he might
meet their women. A rough shelter had been built at one
corner of the Namadewa chena in which the pedlars sat and waited
until the Vedda men came to bargain with them. Hence in the 577
main these people have retained their old virtues of truthfulness,
chastity and courtesy. The first, upon which practically every
observer has remarked, was modified in a particular direction,
for they all wished to show that they were pure-blooded Veddas [614
of the Morane and Unapane clans, which were considered 554]
superior to the rest. So the Namadewa men lied freely, declaring that they belonged to Morane and Unapane, and one
young man, otherwise a good informant, insisted that he was
still unmarried, as he did not want to own that his wife was a
Namadewa woman. Cases of intermarriage with Sinhalese
were also emphatically denied, or only admitted after much
cross-examination. Plate III represents a number of the men
we met at Bendiyagalge.

**Danigala.** The Danigala Veddas of the Nilgala district 101
present a peculiar phase of the clash of civilization and barbarism. 178
They are the classical "wild Veddas" of Ceylon described by so
many travellers; their descent is pure but their own customs
have been almost entirely forgotten, and are certainly ignored
at the present day. They live in the park country, have a [541]
chena and a banana garden, and do a good trade in cattle both 231
by herding for the Sinhalese, retaining every fifth calf as is the

Plate XI

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Fig. 1. Rough shelter on the Danigala rock dome

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Fig. 2. Veddas of Bandaraduwa

[facing p. 38]

231 custom of the country and also selling those they have bred
themselves. However, all this was unknown to us when we
first met the people, nor would it have been possible to guess
their prosperous condition from the first sight of their settlement.
123 It was well known throughout the Vedirata that investigations
were about to be made among the Veddas, and all the village
headmen had been given instructions to render assistance. They
therefore told the Veddas to expect us, and would have sent for
them to come to the Public Works Department bungalow on
our arrival had we not expressly stated that we preferred to visit
the people in their homes. A very rough track led to the top of
361 the Danigala Hill, about 1200 feet high, where, on a rounded
342 shoulder of rock, stood the skeleton hut of the Danigala Veddas
shown in Plate II. This was built on the pattern of the ordinary
village Vedda habitations but entirely lacked the slats of
bark which make the sides moderately weather proof. By its
✓ side was an even rougher shelter consisting of a large bough
with the smaller branches trimmed and overlaid with banana
leaves. Kaira the patriarch or "senior" of the group sat outside
the hut with three other men; there were also present three
women, a boy of about 12, and two younger children, and
although both of the latter had many teeth they suckled
persistently. This hut and some of its occupants are shown in
Plate II, the rough shelter by its side in Plate XI, figure 1.

609 Although Mr Bibile, whom all these people knew quite well,
was with us, they were quite apathetic, their attitude was clearly
123 not the result of shyness, but simply due to the fact that they
took no interest in our presence; the women continued to suckle
their infants and the men squatted or lay upon the rocks and
chewed in gloomy silence, and when addressed they grunted
"yes" or "no." One of the infants who smiled and cooed and
tried to gain our attention was the only member of the group
who seemed to take the least notice of us. Kaira told us that
the people we now saw represented all that remained of the
Danigala Veddas. We noticed some bananas (which do not
grow wild in Ceylon) on the further side of the ridge and we
asked to see their plantation. A prompt denial of its existence
was the result, though Kaira afterwards told Mr Bibile that he

would show him his chena but that he did not wish the white 609 people to know anything about it. Further talk with these 123 people showed that it was impossible to obtain reliable information from them, they had been utterly spoilt as the result of being frequently interviewed by travellers.

The Veddas have long been regarded as a curiosity in Ceylon and excite almost as much interest as the ruined cities, hence Europeans go to the nearest Rest House on the main road and have the Danigala Veddas brought to them. Naturally the Veddas felt uncomfortable and shy at first, but when they found that they had only to look gruff and grunt replies in order to receive presents they were quite clever enough to keep up the pose. In this they were aided by the always agreeable villagers ever ready to give the white man exactly what he wanted. The white man appeared to be immensely anxious to see a true Vedda, a wild man of the woods, clad only in a scanty loin cloth, carrying his bow and arrows on which he depended for his subsistence, simple and untrained, indeed, little removed from the very animals he hunted. What more easy than to produce him? The Nilgala headman sends word when strangers are expected, then the Veddas repair to their very striking hut on the rock dome and often post a look-out on a big rock about half way up, for on our second visit the leading man of our party who was carrying the camera stated that he saw a Vedda bolting from this rock as we came up. [291] These folk, who when we saw them wore their Vedda loin cloths and were smeared with ashes, are reported to wear ordinary Sinhalese clothes when not in their professional pose, and Mr Bibile, who has himself seen one or more of them in sarongs, points out that the imposture is kept up for two main reasons; *firstly*, they fear that their cultivation might be stopped (evidently an echo of the chena difficulty of the Eastern Province), or that they might be taxed if they did not appear to be poor fellows living on hardily won jungle produce; secondly, their pose of poverty interests strangers and procures them visitors, whose generosity is the greater the more primitive their mode of life appears to be.

As a matter of fact the Danigala Veddas like those of 231 Henebedda (with whom we became really friendly) keep cattle

231 for the Sinhalese of Potuliyadde, receiving every fifth calf that
is born. The community has, or recently had, ten or more head
of cattle of their own and have sold bulls to the brother-in-law of
our *tavalam*[1] leader for as much as 30 Rs., indeed, our *tavalam*
leader stated that he had himself visited the Danigala chena and
had also seen the cattle. On this occasion Kaira and his sons
291 wore a coloured cloth as the Sinhalese do and their women wore
a *kambaya* and coloured breast handkerchief. Mr Bibile was
621 able to confirm some of these statements from his own know-
177 ledge and on making investigations among the local villagers
discovered that there was a whole community living on the
609 chena settlement, some of whom had married Sinhalese. Indeed
it appeared that not only have members of this community
learnt to play the part of professional primitive man, but there
has even been specialisation, for as far as we could learn, the
men we met at the look-out hut are those who always receive
visitors or come to Bibile when sent for, while the others whom
we did not see do not pose as wild Veddas. Probably the part
they now play had only recently crystallised into a professional
rôle, but it must be remembered that so long ago as 1863 Bailey
discussing these Veddas, or their fathers, says "they were
brought in from the forests to be 'looked at'" and he adds,
"I never saw that contempt for money which Tennant supposes
is still existing[2]."

Kovil Vanamai. In the Eastern Province in the neighbour-
101 hood of Devulani tank the Kovil Vanamai Veddas are found,
this term being applied to a number of groups of Veddas living
in this neighbourhood. The name Kovil Vanamai means temple
[346] precincts and seems to have arisen from there being one or
more temples in this part of the country, while some of these
shrines are traditionally associated with Veddas, apparently
with old settled coast and village Veddas, for we have no
reason to think that the ancestors of the folk we saw at
Bandaraduwa, or the other wilder Veddas of fifty years ago, were
in any way guardians of the temples or dependent on their
511 bounty. Although at the present day the Kovil Vanamai
Veddas are represented by scattered groups, for the most part

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[1] A *tavalam* is a train of pack bulls.

[2] Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 285.

badly off and in varying conditions of ill health and malnutrition, 511 there is abundant evidence that only a generation back these communities were composed of a large number of families who, although they made chenas, led a healthy hunting life for a great part of the year. Plate XI, figure 2, represents some men and children of the Bandaraduwa chena settlement; from 144 this photograph it is evident that in spite of their prosperity even twenty-five years ago, there must have been much miscegenation, and the appearance of a couple of old grey-headed men alleged Veddas whom we saw in this neighbourhood certainly suggested that they possessed only a fraction of Vedda blood[1].

The following account of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas as they 115 existed some 20 or 25 years ago was given us by Tissahami, Arachi[2] of Potuliyadde, a man who on account of his long association with Veddas is often spoken of as the Vedda Arachi. This man though presenting the appearance of a typical Kandyan Sinhalese has Vedda blood in his veins, for his ancestors were [144] Veddas of Moranegala in the Eastern Province, his great grandfather being a Vedda shaman who settled at Damenegama in Uva Province. Although this man's descendants intermarried with the local Sinhalese (who are themselves in part the descendants of Veddas) and adopted the Sinhalese mode of life, one man at least in each generation continued to act as shaman (S. *kapurale*), and the father of the Arachi was a devil dancer and *wederale* (native doctor) of some note. This man's son, the Arachi, now a man of between 40 and 50, exerts a great deal of influence over the peasants in his neighbourhood, who all recognise that he is in more or less constant communication with the spirits, to which fact his neighbours attribute much of his success. In this manner was explained the quickness with which he recently learnt blacksmith's work. We had not heard of his re-

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[1] Some of the "Veddas" living in the neighbourhood of Bandaraduwa and the sea are comparatively tall, stoutly built men with no appearance of Vedda ancestry. Two men from Uhena in Nadukadu Pattu measured 65 and 65½ inches respectively. Two men, who looked like Tamils but called themselves Veddas, lived on big Sinhalese chenas at Kotelinda; one of them said that his wife's parents had belonged to the Galmeda group.

[2] *Arachi* is the title applied to the headmen of a Sinhalese village settlement.

Plate XII

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Fig. 1. Mixed Sinhalese and Vedda chena at Bandaraduwa

516
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Fig. 2. Uniche Veddas

[facing p. 42]

putation when he first joined our party, but it was very soon evident
115 that he was handier, quicker and more intelligent in every way
than the other peasant Sinhalese with whom we came in contact.
Still later we discovered that by his influence a large clearing
had been illegally made in a remote part of the jungle near
Nuwaragala, and that on account of this he was doing his best to
prevent our coming in contact with the Sitala Wanniya Veddas
in whose territory the clearing had been made. Although in
this he played us false and caused much needless trouble we
found him in other matters a perfectly trustworthy witness, and
as he had associated more or less constantly with the Kovil
Vanamai Veddas from the age of 10 to 20, there is every reason
161 to accept his account of their condition 25 years ago. At this
221 time there were about 50 families, i.e. some 200 people, who led
621 a wandering hunting life for half of the year, during which time
they lived in rock shelters and depended largely on honey; for
the rest of the year they paid more or less attention to chena
cultivation, growing especially maize and *kurakkan* (*Eleusine
coracana*). Two or three families—not necessarily the same
year after year—would usually wander and hunt together;
such groups of families might also make chenas together,
though five or six families would often join to make a single
chena.

Although they had a few guns even 20 years ago, bows and
222 arrows were in common use and much of their hunting consisted
411 of monkey drives. There were no mixed Sinhalese and Vedda
423 chenas then. The Arachi remembers three caves belonging to
621 the ancestors of the present Bandaraduwa Veddas, viz. Walim-
bagalagalge, Ellavellagalge and Vianbendegalge. Each family
was the recognised possessor of one or more rocky hills on which
there were colonies of the rock bee, but the whole of the small
hunting community would join to collect honey from each hill
and the honey was always equally shared.

614 The Kovil Vanamai Veddas belonged to Morane and
Unapane and Uru *waruge*. The latter lived apart near Uniche,
i.e. between Tumpalamcholai and the coast. The Arachi states
197 that the language has altered during the last 20 years, Tamil
128 tending to displace Sinhalese, thus *tirakodai*, "nothing," is said

instead of *kodoi, tire* being a Tamil word, so that a composite 197 178
word meaning "really nothing" is now used.

At the present day there are probably no more than a dozen 511
families left as representatives of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas [161]
and all of these live on Sinhalese chenas and are in dire poverty.
The country has been referred to already as unhealthy, monkeys
although abundant are not easily approached especially in the
dry season, and other game is scarce. Isolated families have
settled down in Sinhalese villages to pick up whatever living
they can as occasional hired labourers, and some of these people
were seen in a wretchedly starved condition. The most prosperous
are three families living on the large Sinhalese chena
(Plate XII, figure 1) at Bandaraduwa near Devulani tank. But
even with the assistance of the chena these people are not well
off, and it appeared that they were no strangers to hunger.
Owing to their position on the border of the Sinhalese and 177
Tamil country, they had been influenced by both Hinduism and 771
Buddhism to a certain extent. In spite of this they knew
numerous Vedda songs and incantations, and the ceremonies
following a death which occurred in the vicinity during our
visit clearly demonstrated that foreign ideas formed but a thin
stratum overlying their own beliefs.

The Uniche Veddas were not seen in their own country but 123
some men were brought to us by the Forest Ranger, Mr S. 614
Perera, at Maha Oya, where the photograph shown in Plate XII
was taken. We have no note that these Veddas were Uru
*waruge* men, but it seems probable that they represented the
Uru *waruge* community recorded (as mentioned by the Vedda
Arachi) on the last page. They had retained their own customs 511
and beliefs very largely and appeared to be living in a condition
very similar to the people near Devulani, though perhaps they
were better fed.

**Sitala Wanniya.** After visiting so many decaying or
degenerate communities a refreshing state of affairs was found at
Sitala Wanniya. Here there were at least four families who
were living the life their forefathers had lived for generations
without perceptible change. They still found game, honey and 511
yams in quantities sufficient not only to support life, but to leave 439

Plate XIII

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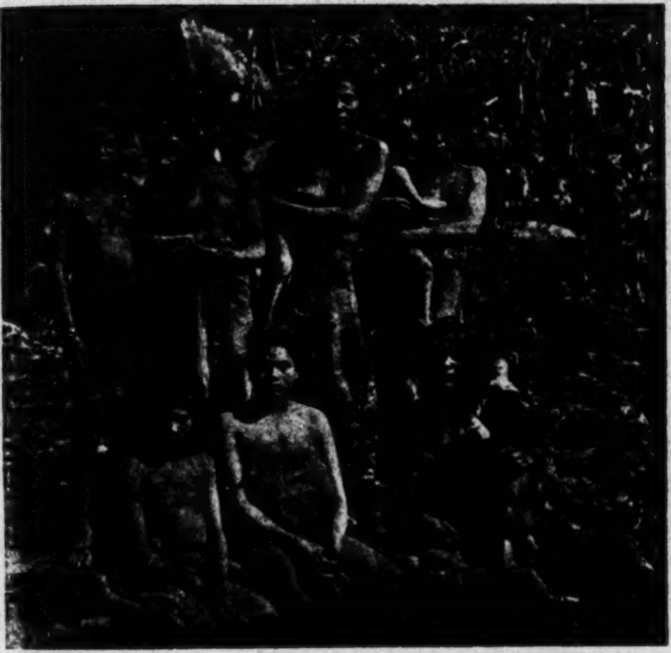

Women and girls of Sitala Wanniya

[facing p.44]

511 a surplus to barter with the Moormen on their annual visit, or to
439 take into the nearest Sinhalese village to exchange for iron,
cloth, pots and occasional rice and coconuts.

142 Plate XIII represents the women of this group, the plates on
141 which the men were photographed were accidentally destroyed
shortly after we left Sitala Wanniya. Handuna whose height
was 1·530 mm.,[4] (60¼ inches) looked a typical Vedda; Vela who
was two inches taller also had a Vedda physiognomy though
his appearance was not so typical; Kaira and Pema both looked
as though they were of mixed blood, and Nila, height 1·555 mm.,[4]
(61¼ inches), shown in Plate LV, would certainly not be taken
for a Vedda at all.

Neither the assurance of a regular supply of food, nor the
609 apathy produced by gradual starvation, had caused them to
neglect their old ceremonies, and we found that once these
people had overcome their shyness they were communicative,
extremely courteous and merry. When the men understood
they were free to come to our camp whenever they liked and
that areca nut and betel leaves were always ready for them, they
granted us the same freedom of their own cave, only stipulating
that we should never allow our servants to go near it.

202 When they first led us to their cave we noticed that they
609 stopped and shouted when about a quarter of a mile distant and
576 did not proceed until an answeiring shout was heard. This they
said was their custom and was equally observed whether they
were accompanied by strangers or not. The place at which they
stopped was their usual dancing ground as well as the spot on
which pedlars were received and barter carried on, for strangers
were never allowed to approach their caves or see their women.

Galmede. A family of Veddas of the Galmede group, seen
166 at Godatalawa, consisted of ten persons who had left their old
home in the Nuwaragala Hills, and who appeared to be moderately
pure-blooded. The old man of the community proved a good
115 informant, remembering a considerable number of old customs
and invocations, but he was not a shaman, and as there was not
one in the community most of the customs had fallen into desuetude. The members of this community were living on a very
651 poor chena and, when we saw them, were in great difficulties as

[4] [erratum; see p. [illegible] — Analyst]

they had been called upon to pay a chena tax as well as 1·50 Rs. 651 per adult male road tax. Of course they were unable to collect this money and they dreaded the ensuing penalty, that of serving on the roads, for should the two young men leave the settlement the old man and woman and the girl must starve, the first being too old to work and the woman a cripple. Their plight would [464] have been just as bad had the young man gone to work on some Sinhalese rice fields in order to earn the money[1].

Degenerate Veddas in the neighbourhood of the main 177 Badulla-Batticaloa road[2]. 361 The main road from Badulla to the east coast passes through country that was once the centre of the Vedirata, and on either side of it at a distance of some 2—6 miles are various settlements of half-bred and degenerate Veddas who will soon be entirely lost among the Sinhalese. Plate XIV, figure 1, represents two men of this class: it is obvious that the young man would pass for a Sinhalese, indeed in spite of his bow and arrows and traditional scanty Vedda garb the condition of his hair shows that he has at least been following a Sinhalese mode of life. It is possible that the whole Vedda get-up may have been assumed for our benefit, though in view of the comparative skill with which he handled his bow we do not think this likely. The old man was doubtless one of the last degenerate Veddas of the district.

Before passing to village Veddas a word must be said concerning 177 the Omuni folk and those of Unuwatura Bubula. Sir 621 James Emerson Tennant, in his work *Ceylon* published in 1859, 797 states that Mr Atherton, A.G.A., in conjunction with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, attempted to civilise the Veddas[3]. In 1838 "cottages were built for them in their own district, rice land assigned to them, wells dug, coconuts planted, two communities were speedily settled at Vippammadvo." A

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[1] This is a not uncommon practice at the present day.

[2] This road is only some forty or fifty years old, Mr Warren tells me that "the old [491] road from Badulla to Batticaloa joined the road from Alutnuwara. It crossed the present cart road about Kallodi and must have worked its way in the neighbourhood of the present road to Tumpalancholai and so to the ferry into Batticaloa." Part of this track is still used as a short cut. "There was another road from Passara through Medagama past Makakandiyaweva to Mandur; *tavalam* travel that way now."

[3] Tennant, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 447.

Plate XIV

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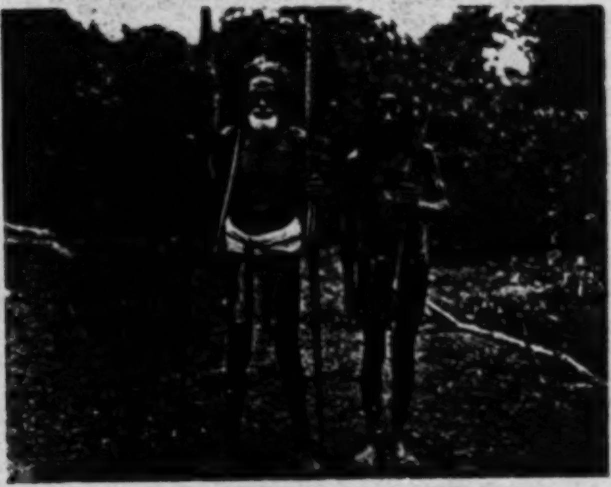

Fig. 1. Men of mixed Sinhalese and Vedda blood from the neighbourhood of Maha Oya.

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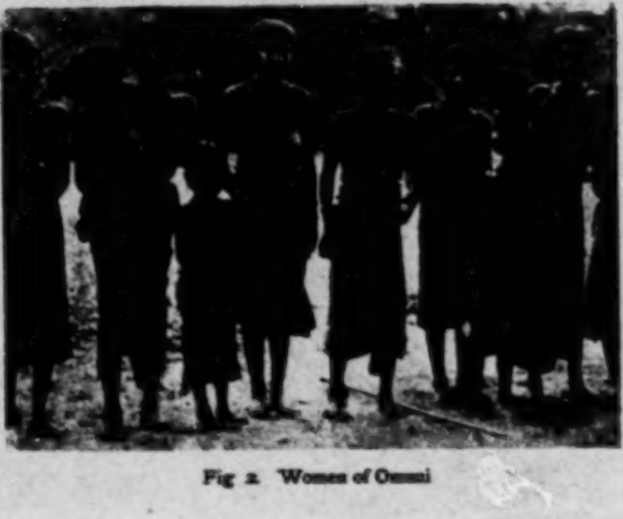

Fig 2. Women of Omuni

[facing p.46]

177 school was founded and two other settlements fromed at
621 Oomany and Villengelavelly. However, the enterprise was soon
797 abandoned owing to the misconduct of some of the teachers.
"But," continues Tennant, "the good effects of even this temporary experiment were apparent; not one of the Veddas returned to his cave and savage habits... The other colony at Oomany continues to the present day prosperous and successful, twenty-five families are resident around it, rice and other grains are produced in sufficiency and coconuts are planted near the cottages. The only desertions have been the departures of those in search of employment, who have removed to other villages in quest of it. The school was closed in 1847 owing to there being no more children at the time requiring instruction..."

177 The colony can no longer be called "prosperous and success-
621 ful," indeed, we found it in a state of semi-starvation. Before
1838, when these people were induced to settle, there can be little doubt that they were living in a somewhat similar condition to the Sitala Wanniya Veddas of the present day, but since then there has been a considerable infusion of foreign blood, for it has long been the habit of criminals and others desirous of concealment, to seek refuge with the village Veddas, who usually receive them kindly and accept them as members of their community. Since the artificial origin of this settlement is known it cannot be regarded as belonging to the village Veddas, but rather to a colony of degenerate settled Veddas.

511 Omuni. At Maha Oya three half-bred Veddas from Omuni
were seen who had been brought in by the Sinhalese headman to
687 work on the road as they had not paid their "road tax." It was
unnecessary for them to plead they were poor and hungry, for their miserable condition showed this all too clearly. Happily Mr. S. W. Woodhouse, the district judge, was then in Maha Oya and realising that while these men were absent from their village, their women and children would be in a worse plight than ever, he excused them their tax and sent them back to
511 Omuni. About a week later we visited Omuni and although we
were met with the customary gift of honey to which were added a few berries, it was obvious that the settlement was really short of food and this in spite of a number of families having left some

months previously to wander into Tamankaduwa where they 511 hoped to get yams and perhaps some game. A number of women left the village immediately after our arrival, explaining that if they did not go and find some yams they and their children would get nothing to eat that night. Some of the men possessed bows and arrows but game was scarce, and their [262] living was obviously precarious, yams, monitor lizards, honey and berries forming their staple diet. 231 Fowls were kept and were taken down to the road (10 miles distant) to sell. Like all Veddas they possessed dogs, invaluable to them in catching monitor lizards when there is no bigger game to hunt, and their care for them was shown by a small shelter which they had built in order to shade a bitch with a litter of puppies.

In physical characters these Veddas[1] somewhat resembled the 142 neighbouring Sinhalese, but were less stoutly built; this appearance may however in part have been due to malnutrition. Their headman is a short, well-nourished, exceedingly active and intelligent individual, whose only Vedda characteristic is his short stature. Plate XIV, figure 2, represents a number of Omuni women.

**Unuwatura Bubula.** The position of the Unuwatura 101 Bubula Veddas is extremely difficult to understand, they occupy 177 two small groups of huts (one of which is shown in Plate XV, figure 1) a little distance from the huts of some peasant Sinhalese. They formerly lived at Mudugala and have doubtless been in close contact with the Sinhalese for many generations, but whether they are the remains of village Vedda settlements or are settled wild Veddas cannot be stated with certainty, though the latter seems more probable. It must be explained that though this community has mixed much with the Sinhalese and has doubtless been much influenced by them, they have their own shamans and they perform their own rites quite apart from their Sinhalese neighbours. Unfortunately the shaman of these people who knew most about the customs and rites of this community was ill, having overtaxed his strength at the first ceremony performed for us, and was not able to talk much, but he was present at most of our conversations and was thus a check on the younger man, but for the reason indicated many

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[1] [i.e., Veddas of Omuni.—Analyst]

Plate XV

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Fig. 1. Vedda settlement at Unuwatura Bubula

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Fig. 2. Village Veddas of Dambani

[Facing p. 48]

points were left doubtful. The extent of their neighbours'
101 influence upon this community may be gauged to a certain
177 degree by the following fact. When visiting the shaman we asked him to show us his *aude* and other sacred objects (as will be seen later, certain beads are held sacred in this community), he replied that he did not keep them at his own hut
[562] because of the noxious influence due to the presence of the
[783] women[1], but that the Sinhalese *gamarale*[2] took charge of them for him. We then went together to the house of the *gamarale*; this consisted of a hut divided by a partition at the back, one room being the sleeping room and the other the granary, and a large open barn in front, with its roof continuous with that of the hut. In the part of the barn nearest the rooms, the women of the household were cooking and pounding rice, while the back was railed off to form a byre in which a number of calves were tethered and into which the cows were driven at night. When it was pointed out that there were also women living in this house the shaman explained that their influence was counter-balanced by the presence of the cows. Physically some of the Unuwatura
144 Bubula Veddas must be regarded as tolerably pure-blooded,
141 since they included some of the shortest men we met. One man measured only about 1360 millimetres (53½ inches), but probably he is to be regarded as almost a dwarf.

## VILLAGE VEDDAS.

184 The village Veddas form a class which it is most difficult to
361 describe briefly, yet fairly. The term must not be taken to apply to degenerate Veddas who have lost their jungle characteristics and independent habits under Sinhalese encroachment. Doubtless many such folk do live as Sinhalese in chena settlements for a short time before their extinction in the surrounding mass of peasant Sinhalese. But this is not the sense in which the Sinhalese apply the term Gan Veddo (village Veddas), nor is it the sense in which we use the term. Knox speaks of "wild"

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[1] We afterwards ascertained that *kili* was the name for the ceremonial uncleanliness of women.

[2] The *gamarala* of a Sinhalese village is the headman, who is responsible for the cultivation of the village lands and generally directs the agricultural affairs of the community.

and "tame" Veddas, and to come to more recent times, there is 184
evidence that a hundred years ago there were organized com- 361
munities of house-building Veddas, while certain Veddas received
grants of land from the Sinhalese kings, and on these lived as
definite village communities until quite recently, probably till
within the last half century.

## VILLAGE VEDDAS OF UVA BINTENNE.

**Dambani.** The present community of Dambani, in the 621
jungle between Kallodi and Alutnuwara, may serve as an
example of a village Vedda community. Some twenty families
living in tolerably built houses keep buffaloes and cultivate
chena, the latter being big enough not only to supply their own
wants, but to permit of a lively trade with Sinhalese traders.
These Dambani folk have been known to the Arachi of Belligala
as a flourishing community in the same social condition for the
last thirty years, and he states that they were in this condition in
his father's time. A short visit was sufficient to show that here
was a community which, though it had lost many Vedda beliefs, [177]
still retained others, and was so strong and independent that
there was little likelihood of its immediate fusion with the sur-
rounding population. Physically these people (Plate XV, figure [142]
2), though somewhat darker and often of a stouter build than the
Danigala Veddas, could not be mistaken for Sinhalese. The
Dambani people are unfortunately "show" Veddas, that is to say, [609]
people who have been sent for so often by white visitors that
they have learnt certain tricks, which they show off directly they
see a European, and so constantly demand presents that serious
work with them is an impossibility.

A positive advantage which has, however, arisen from this [197]
condition, is that these folk have kept up the remains of the
so-called Vedda language. The headman in whose district these
Veddas are situated is largely responsible for this, for he always 622
speaks to them in their own dialect in harsh tones. He is an 156
extremely kind old man, and answers definite questions perfectly
truthfully, yet like so many Sinhalese, he generally says only
what he thinks is expected of him, hence, the belief in the fierce
sullen ways of the Veddas and their inability to laugh has been

622 unconsciously fostered by him. A brief account of our visit to
156 Dambani will best show the present condition of these people.

While in the jungle we were suddenly met by four Veddas,
177 who greeted the Arachi in a deep and apparently fierce tone, he
576 returning the greeting in the same manner. To our surprise these men came up to one of us (C. G. S.), shook hands, and then turned and led us to their village, on the way to which we passed a couple of "tame" buffalo that tried to charge
[361] us. There were three huts in the village and the headman's wife—not at all shy or diffident—after shaking hands took one of us (B. Z. S.) by the arm and led her into a hut. This
[342] had a good roof and walls of sticks, only one side being closed by bark slats, it was full of pumpkins and other chena
126 produce, which were however soon removed. We then sat down to take vocabularies, as the talk going on around us sounded quite different from Sinhalese and they professed not to understand our interpreter who was unable to follow them. So we
574 spoke through the Arachi. The headman's wife brought us each
609 some honey and yams and commanded us to eat. We sucked
431 the honey comb, but that did not satisfy her and she tried to feed one of us (B. Z. S.) with yams herself and to pour water down her throat. After giving us a few Vedda words, the Vidane (headman) began to talk very angrily and then stalked out of the hut. He complained that we had not given him presents and refused to speak another word until we gave him something. Other men came into the village making a total of about 10 or 11 grown men and some boys, but only two middle-aged women, the wife of the Vidane and another, so it was evident that there were other huts in the neighbourhood. We told the Vidane that our carriers would bring presents and made him and a few other men come back to the hut. But after every two or three words there were more angry protests and our interpreter explained that "other white men had not treated them so." When they raised their voices their talk sounded fierce, every word being shouted with emphasis and accompanied by scowling looks. Then we found out from the Arachi that these like the Danigala Veddas were "show Veddas" who had been utterly spoilt by presents from "distinguished visitors," some of whom

had actually been to the village. They had been sent for often 574
to see others at Wewatte and Alutnuwara bungalows, and for 609
even greater folk had been taken to Kandy. And so they had 431
learnt to shake hands and had picked up exaggerated ideas of their own importance and the value of their information, and expected a present for every remark they vouchsafed. It was a horrible change from the courteous behaviour of the Sitala Wanniya cave Veddas.

As the Dambani folk were so very unfriendly we began 609
to hope the carriers would not come at all that night, there was nowhere for them to sleep, and we thought the Veddas might resent their presence. They told us repeatedly that "Sinhalese men would not dare to come to their village," in spite of the fact that there were two petty Sinhalese traders in the village at the time, who did not even trouble to go away before dark, but seemed naturally to expect a night's lodging, which was granted them without any fuss, and there appeared to be no difficulty about language with them. About six o'clock our servants and the carriers arrived, and curiously enough instead of resenting the intrusion the Veddas seemed very impressed by their number, and presumably our importance, in having so many dependents, for they became much more friendly.

The next morning early, we set the phonograph going with 126
a Vedda song: immediately the whole village crowded round us, intensely interested. They recognised the song and said it was very good. The Vidane then sang a song into the machine and was quite excited to hear it repeated, but again began his demand for presents although besides a rupee we had now given white cloth to him and the other men from whom we had got vocabularies. Having obtained records we realised that it was impossible to do any good work among such spoilt people and decided to go to Belligala. We offered some beads to the headman's wife, but she said the string was not long enough; this annoyed us and we asked her if she would prefer not to have any, and on her repeating they were not enough we put them away.

The Dambani men said they did not know to which *waruge* 614

614 they belonged, which suggested to us that perhaps they belonged to Uru *waruge* or one of the other clans which are considered of inferior status. Although the Arachi of Belligala did not know their *waruge* and believed that they had really forgotten them themselves, our opinion was confirmed by information obtained later from the Arachi of Alutnuwara who said that they were of the Uru and Namadewa *waruge*, while a Vedda of Horabora-wewa told us that his mother came from Dambani and she was a Namadewa woman.

576 609 As the Arachi of Belligala assured us the Bulugahaladena Veddas lived in a condition precisely similar to those of Dambani, we did not visit their village but arranged for two of them to visit us at Belligala; they greeted us in the same way as the Dambani folk, with loud and guttural voices, accentuating all the "chs," and shook hands. They brought some honey and yams. They said they could not bring *bambara* honey (for it was too early in the year) so they had brought honey from the stingless bee. After a little while they gradually dropped their [194] guttural tones, especially when they were speaking to the villagers and not to us, their voices, naturally deep, assumed a sing-song tone not unlike that of Nila of Sitala Wanniya. We consider that the gruffness of these Veddas is almost entirely affectation. They have been expected to be sullen and morose and never to laugh. For thirty years the Arachi of Belligala has acted as "show-man" to the Veddas of his district, and he always speaks to them in their "language" in similar or even fiercer tones, and he has shown them so many white men that he has quite lost count of their number. He has thus helped to keep up the fiction of "wildness," for these Veddas are not wild since they are not shy but come up, shake hands, ask for presents, and offer to dance.

178 We believe that they keep up few, if any, of the old Vedda customs; they cultivate chenas and keep cattle, their bows and arrows are probably more for show than use, for the Arachi told us that some of them possess guns while others go to the Sinhalese and borrow them. Deschamps says that Veddas never 157 laugh nor have they ever been seen to smile. Of course this is not true of the Veddas of Nilgala, nor do we think it is true of

these village Veddas, though they seem to be of a somewhat 157
morose disposition. He also said they take no interest in things unknown to them. However, the phonograph attracted as much attention and interest as it always had from Veddas and Sinhalese alike, and we distinctly saw one Vedda smile when his song was reproduced.

The chena settlement at Wallampelle was seen, but here it 144
appeared that much intermarriage had taken place with the Sinhalese.

**Malgode.** There are a number of people very mixed blooded, 144
but calling themselves Veddas, living at Malgode on the shores 177
of Horaborawewa, a beautiful tank traditionally associated with 361
the Veddas. They have dropped their old Vedda customs so entirely that the local Sinhalese no longer look upon them as true village Veddas, an attitude that has perhaps been fostered by the fact that here in Uva where the Veddas are exempt from all taxation these people pay road tax. Such at least was [651]
the point of view of the Arachi of Alutnuwara, "how can these people be Veddas?—they pay road tax." In spite of this there 511
is no doubt that they are largely of Vedda descent and in many instances remember their *waruge*. They live in very poorly built houses and depend largely on the seeds of the lotus for food. They still pose as pure-blooded Veddas to white visitors, and have been recently described by Drs H. M. Hillier and W. H. Furness, 3rd. "We followed the jungle path along the eastern shore of the lake, sometimes over outcrops of granite, or down by the lake side...and after following our guide through thick undergrowth for half-an-hour, suddenly, and without warning, we came out into a cleared space, where there was the merest excuse for a hut, and beside it a man and woman squatting side by side and cooking something in a blackened earthen pot, which rested on a fire of twigs and branches; a little beyond them were more huts and more women and children—lo! the Village Veddahs. The elderly man and woman whom we first saw had between them scarcely a yard of coarse cloth as clothing, their hair hung loose in dishevelled twists and strings about their faces, and they both squatted so low that their knees stood up above their shoulders. But the most impressive thing about

511 them was their unhuman apathy and utter lack of interest....
Although we came upon them unexpectedly, and although, as
they told us later, they had never before seen white people,
nevertheless, neither of them showed the slightest astonishment
or interest in our appearance; both glanced up for a second, and
then cast down their eyes, and continued silently shelling
the seeds of the lotus pods beside them, and stirring the
simmering pot over the fire. Near the other huts, women and
children were occupied at the same task; some were sitting on
the ground around a pile of lotus pods, others were attending to
the cooking. At first the children seemed a little frightened
at us, but contrary to expectation, did not rush off to the
jungle....

"At the time of our visit there were but three men and
511 seventeen women and children in Makulugulla; these were
342 distributed in five shelters or huts. The chief's house was made
of four upright posts and a flat thatched roof of palm leaves, but
[184 without walls or flooring. The other huts were shaped like
622] A-tents, one was thatched with coarse grass, the other covered
with large circular leaves of the lotus. The remaining two huts
were shaped like wall tents, the roofs of grass or palm-leaf
thatch, and the walls of bark. They all had dirt floors, and not
one of them was over eight feet square. In three of the huts
the utensils, such as earthen pots, baskets, gourds and mats,
were piled on the ground at one end; in only two were there any
[356] shelves. The floor of each, however, was neatly swept, and
even outside the huts, where all but the aged and the very
young slept, the ground had been swept clear of leaves and
twigs.

"The cooking was all done out of doors, at a fire-place
511 consisting of three stones; and the cook was honoured by
[352 having a seat, either a block of wood or the dried skin of the
354] Axis deer or the Muntjac. We were also surprised to see their
providence, in that they had quite a good-sized bundle of dry
364 firewood on store in the huts. We expected to find the village
reeking with refuse and decaying game, of which we heard that
they were fond, but the place was free from smells, and really
361 clean. The jungle at this spot was composed of large trees and

sparse undergrowth, so that it was an ideal place for a camp, 361
within easy distance of water. They may remain at this place three or four months, or even longer, before they seek a new village site, but probably they never go far from Horabora tank, on account of the great supply of lotus and other seeds which the lake affords.

"None of them is tattooed, and they wear very few ornaments. 301
Both sexes, however, perforate the lobe of the ear, and through 304
the opening pass a wire, strung with beads or seeds. The women sometimes enlarge this perforation, and wear in it a plug, made by rolling a strip of palm leaf into a cylinder, from one half to an inch in diameter.

"We got from them one of their earthen bowls that had 415
rough patterns drawn upon it, but saw no other evidence of [531]
artistic ability. They make coarse mats and baskets of reeds and strips of bamboo, and use gourds and coconut shells for water bottles and cups. Spoons and ladles they make from a piece of coconut shell, with two holes, on one side, and a stick thrust through them to form a handle[1]."

### VILLAGE VEDDAS OF TAMANKADUWA.

There are a number of communities of village Veddas in 144
Tamankaduwa, all of which show marked evidence of inter- 621
marriage with the Sinhalese and Tamils.

**Elakotaliya.** There is a large Vedda chena here, but most of its inhabitants were away at the time of our visit, those present appeared distinctly half-bred. Their mode of life is similar to 105
that prevalent at Dambani and Bulugahaladena, i.e. they are occu- 621
pied in chena cultivation, cattle rearing, and do a little hunting, but as they have not specially preserved it for show purposes they have forgotten the Vedda dialect. However, they remember their *waruge* and practise exogamy; they also reverence the Nae Yaku.

**Kalukalaeba.** Another settlement was seen at Kalukalaeba, here were about twelve mud huts, all empty on our arrival, as it was the harvesting season and the people had gone to live

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[1] "Notes of a trip to the Veddas of Ceylon." *Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III, 1901. [113]

Plate XVI

142
291
[854]

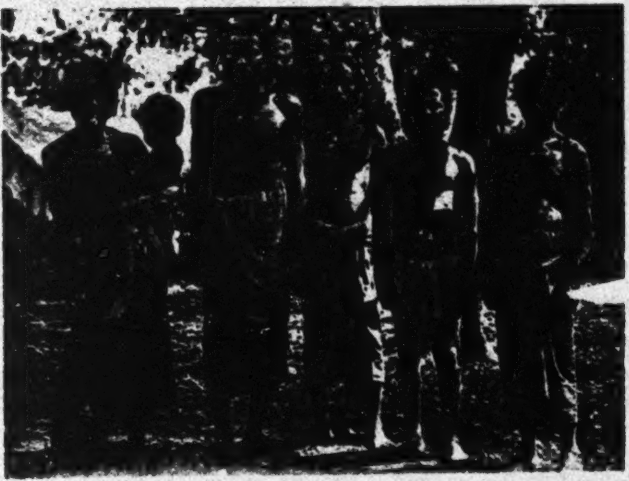


Fig. 1. Men of Yakure

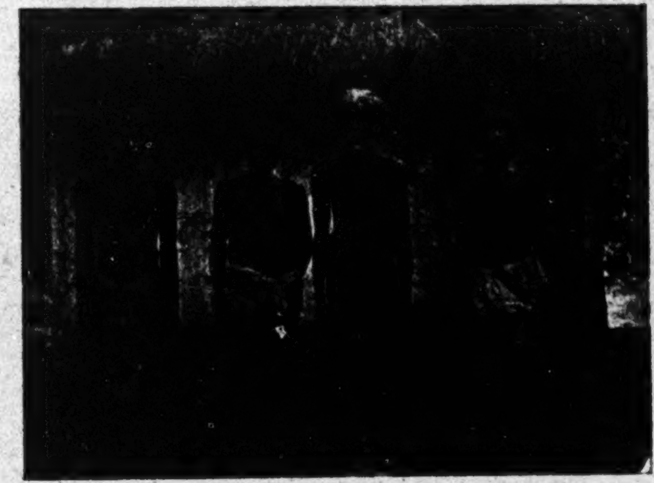


Fig. 2. Veddas of Ulpota

[Facing p. 56]

105 on their chena. We waited here a little while and two Veddas 621 passed, one carrying a gun; we asked them to return to their chena and fetch some of the other villagers. Soon some twenty [431] men and about as many women and children arrived bringing us presents of honey, pumpkins and sweet potatoes. Scarcely any of them presented the Vedda type, they were all distinctly larger and more heavily built. Except their knowledge of their *waruge* and recognition of the Nae Yaku all remains of Vedda customs seemed to have been lost.

**Yakure.** The inhabitants of Yakure, a village about six miles from Kalukalaeba, call themselves Veddas, though physically (Plate XVI, figure 1) they would pass as Tamils or mixed [194] Tamils and Sinhalese, and show even less evidence of Vedda blood than do the Kalukalaeba people. Their village consists of about 40 mud houses and is compactly built; a great number of cattle was seen grazing outside the confines of the village. Like the Kalukalaeba folk they know their *waruge* and invoke the Nae Yaku, but they have a temple, a simple mud hut, and worship a number of Sinhalese gods. Some men (Plate XVI, figure 2) from a village called Ulpota near Gunner's Quoin were [197] seen here who also appeared to have mixed blood; they knew the "Vedda language," that is to say we were able to get from them about the same number of words as we obtained at Dambani. When one of them was asked when this dialect was used he replied "only when we are sent for by the Government [191] agent or any other white man." Among themselves they speak Sinhalese though they can also speak Tamil as it is largely the language of Tamankaduwa.

**Rotawewa.** There is a settlement of alleged Veddas at Rotawewa about six miles from Minerriya tank. Concerning these we were told that they cultivated rice, and were in no respect different from the neighbouring Sinhalese, while Mr Jayawardene writes: "There is only one village of Veddas in Sinhala Pattu of Tamankaduwa District, and that village is Rotawewa, about six miles from Minerriya. These Veddas lived on the chase and subsequently took to chena clearings, and when the place began to be frequented by the low-country Sinhalese and other traders, some of them were able to sell their meat to them and

they saved a little money and bought a patch of land of about 105
11 acres from Government, which land they now cultivate with 121
paddy.... There are sixteen houses in the Vedda Settlement of Rotawewa, and the householders in every case are descendants of Veddas. They are Sinhalese without any signs of Tamil admixture."

They say they are of the Morane *waruge*, and they seem [619]
not to know any other *waruge*. Mr Horsburgh however states that "there is one other Vedda village in Sinhala Pattuwa besides Rotawewa, viz. Gallinda, with about three families who are the same people as those of Rotawewa."

As a matter of convenience we have prepared a tabular 105
summary of the conditions prevailing at the various settlements 177
of wild and village Veddas that we visited. Besides those 511
mentioned, many other families and even isolated individuals exist scattered throughout the Vedirata, especially in the neighbourhood of the Badulla-Batticaloa road near Maha Oya and Kallodi. These folk are in the last stage of degeneration, having given up their own wandering life and habits; they have mostly drifted into Sinhalese villages there to die out miserably.

105
177
511

[p.58]

| Place | Health | Game | Chena | Cattle | Foreign Influence | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Henebedda | Good | Plentiful | Good | Kept for Sinhalese | Slight among the old men, considerable among the young | A thriving and vigorous community |
| Danigala | Good | Plentiful | Good | Kept for themselves | Considerable | Live much as Sinhalese, but pretend to live by hunting and honey alone |
| Kovil Vanamai | Poor | Scarce | Poor | None | Considerable | Fast dying out, or at the best losing their Vedda identity; all live on chenas and always we believe in association with Sinhalese |
| Uniche | ... | Scarce | ? | ? | Foreign influence is principally Tamil | We did not see these people in their own settlement |
| Sitala Wanniya | Good | Plentiful | None | None | Very slight | The older men of this community had never made chena |
| Galmeda | Poor | Scarce | Very poor | None | Probably slight | We only saw a colony of this group who had settled at Godatalawa |
| Omuni | Poor | Scarce | Poor | None | Dominant | A few chickens were kept for sale, these people were wretchedly poor and most of them decidedly ill-nourished |
| Unuwatura Bubula | Poor | Scarce | Poor | None | Dominant | |
| **Village Veddas** | | | | | | |
| Dambani &c. | Good | Scarce | Good | Many tame buffalo | Considerable | An anomalous but thriving group (cf. pp. 49 to 53) |
| Elakotaliya | Good | Scarce | Good | Cattle | ... | These groups live in well built mud huts on flourishing chenas and appear to be prosperous and comfortable. They appear to possess more Tamil than Vedda blood |
| Kalukalaeba | Good | Scarce | Good | Cattle | ... | |
| Yakure | Good | Scarce | Good | Large herds of cattle | ... | These people live in well built huts in a compact settlement which might almost be called a town. They have a Sinhalese headman. |

# CHAPTER III

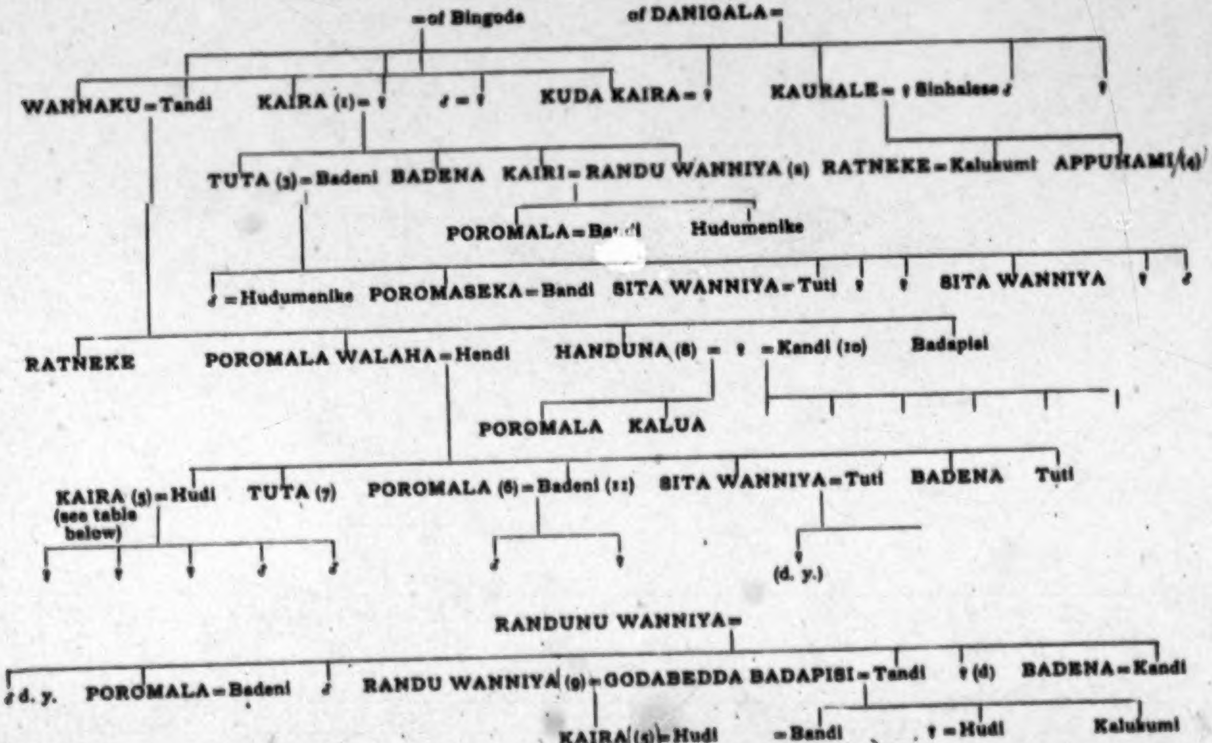
## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

### GENEALOGIES.

THE genealogies on the next two pages show the relation- 601
ship existing between the various individuals of the three Vedda
communities, which still retain enough of the old Vedda mode of
life to make a study of their organization valuable. At the first
glance it is obvious that these genealogies do not go back beyond
the memory of middle-aged men of the present day. We are
convinced that this is due, not to any general distrust of our
inquiries, but simply to certain peculiarities of the Vedda habit of
thought which is directly dependent on their mode of life. The
first of these is the extraordinary lack of memory shown by [153]
every Vedda for the names of individuals of more than one
generation older than himself. This may perhaps be due to the
fact that the number of individuals whom any one knows well is
really small, being necessarily limited to the community to which
he himself belongs. The genealogies show how small are these [582]
communities and, since every Vedda should marry a first cousin,
marriage does little or nothing to enlarge the number of his con-
nections. Further, each of the people with whom he comes in 601
contact is related to him in a definite manner and is called and 551
spoken of by a definite kinship term, so that personal names
come to play a very small part in the daily life of the Veddas.
It is this, doubtless, that has led to the frequent persistence of
the baby names Tuta and Tuti, "little one" in its male and
female forms, as the only names by which many individuals are
known, and this together with the number of children called by

[p. 59] [text continues on p. 62]

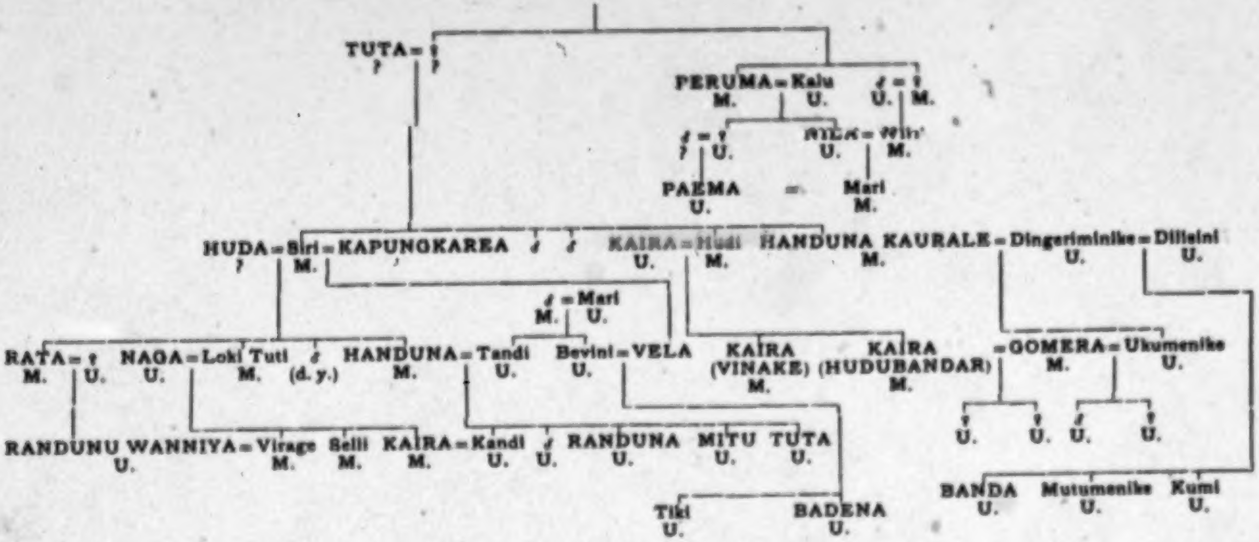
## GENEALOGY OF SOME HENEBEDDA VEDDAS.


=of Bingoda
of DANIGALA=
WANNAKU=Tandi
KAIRA (1)= ♀
♂ = ♀
KUDA KAIRA= ♀
KAURALE= ♀ Sinhalese ♂
♀
TUTA (3)=Badeni
BADENA
KAIRI=RANDU WANNIYA (2)
RATNEKE=Kalukumi
APPUHAMI (4)
POROMALA=Bandi
Hudumenike
♂ =Hudumenike
POROMASEKA=Bandi
SITA WANNIYA=Tuti
♀
♀
SITA WANNIYA
♀
♂
RATNEKE
POROMALA WALAHA=Hendi
HANDUNA (8) = ♀ =Kandi (10)
Badapisi
POROMALA
KALUA
KAIRA (5)=Hudi (see table below)
TUTA (7)
POROMALA (6)=Badeni (11)
SITA WANNIYA=Tuti
BADENA
Tuti
♀
♀
♀
♂
♂
♂
♀
(d. y.)
RANDUNU WANNIYA=
♂ d. y.
POROMALA=Badeni
♂
RANDU WANNIYA (9)=GODABEDDA BADAPISI=Tandi
♀ (d)
BADENA=Kandi
KAIRA (5)=Hudi
=Bandi
♀ =Hudi
Kalukumi

(Numbers in parentheses refer to the text (cf. especially p. 16).)

# GENEALOGY OF VEDDAS OF SITALA WANNIYA AND GODATALAWA GROUPS.

(ONLY THE IMMEDIATE ANCESTORS OF PAEMA AND MARI ARE GIVEN.)


TUTA = ♀
? ?
PERUMA = Kalu
M. U.
♂ = ♀
U. M.
♂ = ♀
? U.
NILA = Mini
U. M.
PAEMA = Mari
U. M.
HUDA = Siri = KAPUNGKAREA
? M.
♂ ♂
KAIRA = Hudi
U. M.
HANDUNA KAURALE = Dingeriminike = Dilisini
M. U. U.
♂ = Mari
M. U.
RATA = ♀
M. U.
NAGA = Loki
U.
Tuti
M.
♂
(d. y.)
HANDUNA = Tandi
M. U.
Bevini = VELA
U.
KAIRA (VINAKE)
M.
KAIRA (HUDUBANDAR)
M.
= GOMERA = Ukumenike
M. U.
RANDUNU WANNIYA = Virage
U. M.
Selli
M.
KAIRA = Kandi
M. U.
♂
U.
RANDUNA
U.
MITU
U.
TUTA
U.
♀ U.
♀ U.
♂ U.
♀ U.
Tiki
U.
BADENA
U.
BANDA
U.
Mutumenike
U.
Kumi
U.

Names in Capitals are males, as TUTA; names in small type females, as Siri.
M. = Morane Clan; U. = Unapane Clan; d. y. = died young.

601 such favourite names as Kaira, Poromala and Handuna leads to 551 confusion, not only in the minds of strangers, but also we believe in the minds of the Veddas themselves.

Sinhalese who come in contact with the Veddas find the same 601 difficulty, and the individuals of certain communities, e.g. 551 Danigala, have each a Sinhalese name by which they are known 597 to the peasant Sinhalese, and which in many instances they themselves recognise, so that some Veddas actually know each other by these Sinhalese names, and give them when asked their own names or those of their companions. This is the explanation of the majority of Sinhalese names occurring in the 601 genealogies. Again, the fact that among the Veddas there is no system of hereditary chieftainship, or any other custom such [622 as the vendetta, forcing a man to know and remember his grand-628] fathers, cannot but have assisted to bring about the forgetfulness of previous generations, which with the rarest exceptions makes everyone entirely ignorant of his grandparents. In the case of the Danigala and Henebedda Veddas there was an additional difficulty to be met in conducting our investigations. The men 601 of these communities who for the most part belonged to the 614 Morane and Unapane clans, traditionally the proudest and most 594 important of the Vedda *waruge*, had to a certain extent intermarried with Sinhalese and also with the Veddas of Namadewa clan, a waruge which in this part of the country is regarded as of inferior status. They are most anxious to conceal instances of both these classes of marriage and lied freely concerning them and this is the reason for certain lacunae in their genealogies, which in the case of the Danigala community could not have been given at all had not Mr Bibile's position as Ratemahatmaya, i.e. hereditary overlord or "laird" of this part of the country, enabled him to make inquiries from the surrounding peasantry, and thus check, and in many instances correct, the information we obtained from the Veddas themselves.

A Vedda community consists of from one to five families 621 who share the rights of hunting over a tract of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing its streams, and using the rock shelters. But the whole of the community does not commonly move about its territory as one band, it is far more common to find only the

members of single families or small groups of two families living 621
and hunting together.

Each family consists of parents and unmarried children to 596
whom are generally added married daughters and their husbands. 587
It is rare to find a married son with his father and mother, and
a widow often marries the brother of her dead husband. We
may now give some examples of the communities we actually
met, premising that where a community such as that of Godatalawa consists of a single family only, this is probably due to
depopulation and "hard times."

By consulting the genealogies on pp. 60 and 61 it will be seen 596
that the Godatalawa family consisted of an old white haired man, Handuna, the "senior" of the group, his wife Dilisini, their daughter Kumi, a girl scarcely past puberty, and another daughter, Mutumenike, whom we did not see. Besides these there were Kaira (Hudubandar) and Kaira (Vinake), both sons of the old man's sister Hudi, and therefore actual or potential sons-in-law, and the two young children of the dead Ukumenike, a daughter of Handuna by his first wife Dingerimenike.

The Sitala Wanniya community when we first met them 621
consisted of two families, those of Handuna the "senior" of the
group, and his half brother Vela. Handuna had with him his 596
wife Tandi and his two boys, his married daughter Kandi, and her husband Kaira with his sister Selli and the two young children born to Kaira and Kandi. Vela had only his wife Bevini (sister of Tandi) and his two young children. After a few days they were joined by another family consisting of Nila and his wife Wiri, with their daughter and her husband Paema, an unmarried girl and a small boy. The relationship between Handuna and Nila was that their grandmothers were sisters and their mother and father cousins who reciprocally called each other *akka* (elder sister) and *maleya* (younger brother).

## KINSHIP.

The system of kinship was studied by means of the 601
genealogies; and the following list of relationship terms compiled from the genealogies shows that the Vedda system of

601 relationship is a late form of the kind known as classificatory. Further, since the Vedda system closely resembles the Sinhalese the one may have been borrowed from the other.

*Mutta*, father, grandfather.
*Atta*, mother, grandmother.
*Pula* or *iuta*, son, sister's son (fem. loq.), brother's son (m. loq.).
*Duwa* or *iuti*, daughter, sister's daughter (fem. loq.), brother's daughter (m. loq.).
*Munubura*, grandson.
*Miniberi*, granddaughter.
*Aiya*, elder brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.
*Malaya*, younger brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.
*Akka*, elder sister, daughter, paternal uncle's daughter.
*Naga*, younger sister, maternal aunt's daughter, paternal uncle's daughter.
*Mama*, maternal uncle, paternal aunt's husband.
*Nendamma*, paternal aunt, maternal uncle's wife.
*Lokuappu*, paternal uncle (older), maternal aunt's husband.
*Kuduappu*, paternal uncle (younger), maternal aunt's husband.
*Lokuamma*, maternal aunt (older), paternal uncle's wife.
*Kuduamma*, maternal aunt (younger), paternal uncle's wife.
*Hura*, paternal aunt's son, maternal uncle's son.
*Naena*, paternal aunt's daughter, maternal uncle's daughter.
*Baena*, sister's son (m. loq.), brother's son (fem. loq.).
*Yeli*, brother's daughter (fem. loq.), sister's son (m. loq.).

It will be noticed that none of these terms, except *hura* and *naena* when used between individuals of the same sex, are reciprocal.

582
601 The working basis of the Vedda kinship system is the marriage of the children of brother and sister, but not of two brothers or sisters. Thus, when a woman's son marries his mother's brother's daughter the man's maternal uncle (*mama*) becomes his father-in-law and his maternal uncle's children (his *hura* and *naena*), except the girl he has married, become his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. None of these relatives, however, change their kinship term on this account, *hura* and *naena* being only applied to individuals with whom intermarriage is actually possible, or would be possible if the sex of the speaker permitted it. On marriage the girl's paternal aunt (*nendamma*) becomes her mother-in-law, but as before marriage this woman's children remain her *hura* and *naena*.

The words *lage eto*, *lato* or sometimes *leto*, the two last being abbreviations of *lage eto*, were often added to relationship terms; as examples of this we may record *mutta lage eto*, *atta lato*, *malaya leto*. We were told that the term in its various forms had the sense "of" or "from my own people," and it would only be used of near relatives, thus Poromala of Henebedda added some form of this word to the terms by which he called almost all his relations. This was not the case at Sitala Wanniya where Handuna (being then in our camp) said that he might use the term *malaya lage eto* when speaking of his brother who was up in the cave. 601

A man usually spoke of his wife as his "woman," *gani*. Addressing her he would probably say *thopi*, "thou." At Henebedda the term *meli* was used. We have no record as to how a Vedda woman of the Sitala Wanniya group addressed her husband; at Henebedda we were told that a childless woman addressed and spoke of her husband as *wani lage eto* but that after children were born he should be addressed (as among the peasant Sinhalese) as "father of so and so" using the name of the youngest child.

At Unuwatura Bubula it was said that not all *naena* and *kura* should marry, the correct marriage being for a man to marry the daughter of his mother's younger brother. We were not able to satisfy ourselves that this rule is especially observed at the present day. Of fifteen marriages between cousins—none of which are marriages of village Veddas—nine are marriages in which the man married his mother's brother's daughter, five are unions between a man and his father's sister's daughter, and one man married a woman who was equally his mother's brother's daughter and his father's sister's daughter, according to whether the relationship was traced on the mother's or father's side. 582

The number of cousin marriages of which we have details is too small to allow the definite statement that marriages between a man and his mother's brother's daughter were especially frequent, though as far as they go they support this idea, which becomes all the more probable when the specially close relationship existing between a man and his mother's brother (cf. p. 67) is considered.

his mother so should he treat his *mama*. A man's father and his 606 father's brothers are less important than his *mama* who receive the largest share of all game killed by their actual or potential sons-in-law.

The love and comradeship existing between father-in-law and son-in-law was often very marked, and sometimes the voice of Handuna of Sitala Wanniya took on a special tone of tenderness when speaking of his *baena*; indeed, the importance of the relationship existing between father-in-law and son-in-law is shown in many ways. Thus not only do they very generally hunt and move about together, but whereas when a girl marries she is often given pots and gourds by her mother, a man receives wedding gifts, which—as is shown in the chapter on land transfer—often consist of tracts of land, not from his father but from his father-in-law, who should be his mother's brother.

Again, although a man presents part of his kill to his father's brothers and mother's sisters, a larger share is given to his actual or potential father-in-law and mother-in-law, and before marriage these may get a specially large share. A man would assist his potential father-in-law and mother-in-law in house building and chena cultivation as a matter of course, but he would only help his other uncles and aunts if asked. When hunting, a son-in-law [482] will usually carry his father-in-law's kill, but he would show the same consideration for his own father and probably for any older man.

We may perhaps fairly sum up this matter by saying, that 593 whereas before marriage a man paid at least as much regard to 606 his future father-in-law as to his own father (and in theory he should pay more), after marriage his father-in-law becomes more important, and the association between father-in-law and son-in-law becomes far closer and more intimate than that existing between father and son. There are, however, certain matters in which father and son are more closely associated than *mama* and *baena*: (a boy's bringing up is essentially a matter to which his father attends, and in which the *mama* takes no great part unless the father dies.) (Again, in theory, sons should take at least as large a part in looking after their aged and infirm fathers as do the latter's sons-in-law.)

606 All Veddas of a group are so nearly related that, with the exception of the bond of the *mama* and *bæna* relationship, the only duties which clearly fall to any individual on account of his relationship to others are (certain ceremonial avoidances.) These are limited to members of opposite sexes and practically include all the men and women whom an individual of either sex might not marry. There is the most rigid avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and at Godatalawa we had an opportunity of seeing how sternly this rule is carried out. Dilisini is the oldest woman of the community, the wife of the patriarch or "senior" of the group; she is physically unattractive and apparently long past the menopause, nevertheless her son-in-law Kaira who was standing a few paces off would not assist her to rise from the ground, although she had an acutely inflamed knee which was obviously extremely painful. In fact no man may come into any physical contact with his mother-in-law or even approach her closely. Thus, if a man met his mother-in-law in the jungle he would move aside off the track. He may however speak to her in the presence of others, though if he found her alone in the rock shelter he would not enter it until there were others present. Similarly though a man may eat food prepared by his mother-in-law he would not take it directly from her, it would be passed to him by someone else, most probably by his wife. 602 A man avoids his son's wife in precisely the same way, as also his brother's wife, and a woman her sister's husband. It was said that if a man attempted to speak in private to any of these women, she would probably suspect him of endeavouring to make improper advances to her which her kinsmen would resent. A man should also avoid touching the daughters of his mother's sisters and his father's brothers as well as all those girls whom he calls "sisters" if these have attained puberty; he may, however, speak to these relatives. We are not quite clear what is the correct attitude of a man towards his wife's sisters or those of his *nana* whom he does not expect to marry, but we believe that generally speaking any close contact is avoided between adults of opposite sexes, and that (practically no man may come in contact with any woman of about his own age except his wife.) At Unuwatura Bubula these rules were so

rigidly observed that we were told that a man might not assist 602
his sister to rise from the ground if she had fallen down and injured herself. Further, it seemed that he should not see much even of the girl whom he was about to marry until she was handed over to him, though according to our Unuwatura Bubula informants it was not really bad for a man to touch any of his *naena* and he was allowed to do this in an emergency. At Sitala Wanniya it was said that adult *hura* and *naena* should not speak to each other even when it had been arranged that they should marry, and at Omuni we were told that if in the old days [684]
a man was seen speaking to an unmarried girl, her outraged relatives would seek to kill him. Children may of course come in contact with their parents to any extent and at any age.

Second marriages are, and always have been frequent, a man 587
often marrying a sister of his deceased wife and a woman marrying one of her dead husband's brothers. We believe that such unions were regarded as both a privilege and a duty, though according to Handuna of Sitala Wanniya a man married his dead wife's sister principally because if he married any one else his children would not be looked after so well. If a widow does not marry one of her dead husband's brothers she may return to her parents, though it seemed that if these were no longer living she would generally stay with her late husband's group, whose duty it would then be to look after her and her children.

With regard to name avoidance, a man does not speak the 551
name of his mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and they also [606
refrain from speaking his name, relationship terms being used 607]
instead. Nor does a man commonly speak of his son-in-law or father-in-law, or his brother's wife or sister's husband, except by the appropriate relationship terms; beyond this we would only point out that, as already mentioned, neither man nor woman commonly speaks of his or her spouse by name, and there is a general tendency to avoid the use of names and where possible indicate an individual by a relationship term. In no case did we notice any hesitation in giving the name of any adult which we sought to obtain in the course of our inquiries. The objection to saying a young child's name and the reason for this is referred to on p. 103.

Terms of respect were commonly used in addressing the aged,
601 thus although *siya* or *mutta* really mean father or grandfather,
576 these words might be used as terms of respect in addressing
any old man, and in the same way the terms *kiriamma* (grandmother) or *atta* might be used to any old woman, and we were told that *siya* was constantly used by members of the group in addressing the "senior" or patriarch. An individual of either sex would call his or her father-in-law's father *siya* or *kiriappa*, and a mother-in-law's mother is addressed as *kiriamma.*

## CLAN ORGANIZATION.

It has already been mentioned that the Veddas at the present
614 day are divided into clans (*waruge*); almost every man who
178 calls himself a Vedda can give the name of his *waruge* and this
applies even to many village and coast Veddas in whom there is a minimum of true Vedda blood. The clan organization of the Veddas was first pointed out by Nevill, who says: "The Veddas north of the Mahawaeli Ganga have lost their original divisions... and reduced to a few isolated families....The Vaeddas known as coast Vaeddas have abandoned most of their ancestral customs and I cannot even ascertain from them their original name. Vaeddas of the forest districts do not preserve any tradition of relationship with these Vaeddas of the coast.[1]" Nevill then gives
614 the following nine names as those of the Vedda clans, to which
he adds the Veddas of Tambalagama Pattu, Kattakulam Pattu and Anurajapura as true Veddas though their *waruge* names seem lost.

1. Morana waruge.
2. Unapana waruge.
3. Bandara or Rugam waruge.
4. Namada, Namadana or Nabadana waruge.
5. Ura-wadiya waruge.
6. Uruwa waruge.
7. Kowil waname.
8. Aembala or Ambala waruge.
9. Tala waruge.

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 176.

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In this list no account is taken of the coast Veddas, of whom Nevill says that they "evidently belong to several distinct sections....Only the old men speak what they call Vaedda, which is pure but quaint Sinhalese with a Vedda accent, as a rule, though mixed with some words characteristic of true Vaedda.... The Vaeddas say they never were related to these Coast Vaeddas, and do not know when they came to the coast, or where they came from, nor did they ever hear that they belonged to any *waruge* of the race.

"The Coast Vaeddas do not know when they came, or how they came, but they say that long ago their ancestors came from the Gala, far beyond the hills to the west(1)."

The Doctors Sarasin state that they attempted to map the territorial distribution of the clans given by Nevill, but on account of the vagueness of his statement were unable to do this. With regard to Nevill's clans we must point out that his 5th, 6th, 7th clan names are open to criticism. *Kovil wanama* is a descriptive term meaning "temple precincts" and, as has already been stated, is the general name for certain Veddas who live in the Eastern Province in the neighbourhood of Devulani tank and who belong to the Morane and Unapane *waruge*. It was formerly the general name for the Veddas who lived in the neighbourhood of the Kataragam temple in the extreme south of Uva.

As for Nevill's Ura-wadiya *waruge* and Uruwa *waruge*, these are not two *waruge* each having one of these names but are other names for the Uru *waruge* mentioned on p. 33. The nine clans given by Nevill are thus reduced to seven and, as will be shown later, there is every reason to believe that this number must be still further reduced by the exclusion of Rugam, i.e. Bandara *waruge*, from the list.

We may now give the distribution of the *waruge* as determined by ourselves.

**Morane.** This clan is found at Nilgala, Henebedda, Bandaraduwa (Kovil Vanamai Veddas), Sitala Wanniya, Godatalawa (Galmede Veddas), and among the Mudugala Veddas now settled at Unuwatura Bubula, as well as among many of the last

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(1 *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 183.)

remains of the Veddas who lead a miserable existence in the neighbourhood of the Badulla-Batticaloa road between Kallodi and Maha Oya. The Morane clan probably also exists at Bingoda near Mullagama, and a few Morane people are to be found among the village Veddas of Tamankaduwa. There is, however, reason to believe that this clan has been recently introduced from Omuni, where there are many people who in spite of the Sinhalese blood in their veins say they belong to Morane *waruge*.

Unapane. The distribution of this clan is the same as Morana, and judging from the fact that all the Bingoda people we met said they were Unapana, it must be especially strong there.

Namadewa. This clan is found at Henebedda where that part of the jungle known as Kolombedda was pointed out as their property, and among the village Veddas in Uva Bintenne (Dambani, Bulugahaladena, Girandura). It also occurs in Tamankaduwa where it was one of the chief *waruge* of Elakota-liya, Kalukalaeba and Yakure.

Uru. This clan is found at Uniche among the village Veddas of Bintenne and Tamankaduwa and among the coast Veddas. Its name was known to the Sitala Wanniya Veddas and to many of the small settlements in the neighbourhood of Maha Oya.

Aembala. Some of the coast Veddas say they are of this clan which is also found in Tamankaduwa, at Yakure and Ulpota. The name of this *waruge* was known to the Sitala Wanniya Veddas.

Tala. This clan was only known at Yakure.

The distribution of Namadewa, Uru, Aembala and Tala *waruge* described above agrees with that given by Nevill.

Besides the *waruge*, the distribution of which has just been described, certain other alleged *waruge* were mentioned to us. In some instances it was certain that these were merely groups of people who were named after the locality they now live in or formerly inhabited. The most important of these territorial names was Rugam. The Rugam *waruge* was accounted an offshoot of Morane, and since Rugam is the name of a large and important tank some 12 miles from Maha Oya where Veddas were formerly numerous, it seems reasonable to suppose that Rugam *waruge* was originally a local group called after the territory they inhabited. 614

Dehigama is another *waruge* name given as one to which a small number of Veddas of Uva Bintenne belonged and is avowedly a place name.

Bendiya was also given as a *waruge* name and perhaps is also a place name.

With regard to the origin of the names of the genuine Vedda *waruge*, the only hint that any of them are recognised by Veddas as springing from place names was that conveyed by the statement of a number of Morane men that their ancestors came from Moranegala in the Eastern Province, but no Unapane man ever suggested that his clan had originally come from the place of that name near Kallodi. Moranegala is a hill name, and probably the hill has been named from the *mora* trees (*Nephelium longana*) which it may be assumed grew there, so that Moranegala means "the hill of the *mora* trees," and it might be argued that Morane *waruge* derived its name from the *mora* tree. Some support for this argument might be adduced from the fact that in songs collected at Sitala Wanniya both men and women of Morane *waruge* are addressed as "*mora* flowers." We were unable to discover that any Veddas had legends of the origin of their clans, but this is not to be wondered at in view of the almost total absence of myths among them. The Sinhalese on the other hand have legends of origin for four of the Vedda clans, and these legends, varying only slightly in form, can be collected from the Sinhalese all over the Vedda country. This, as well as the fact that Mr Bibile heard most of them many years ago from his father, show that they are not of recent origin, or invented for the benefit of European inquirers. [773]

With the exception of the legend of the origin of Morane *waruge* given by Mr B. Horsburgh the accounts here given of the origin of the Vedda clans were obtained from the Vedda Arachi of Potuliyadde, but the same stories with only slight variations were also obtained from the Lindegala "Veddas" and the Arachi of Beiligala. 614 773

Mr Horsburgh obtained his account of the origin of Morane

614 773 *waruge* from the "Veddas" of Rotawewa—a rice-growing village in Sinhala Pattuwa of Tamankaduwa, the inhabitants of which say they are descendants from Veddas—although all accounts show that they are indistinguishable from their Sinhalese neighbours. "When Kuveni was abandoned by Vijaya she returned with her two children, a boy and girl, to her own people, who killed her. Her children fled to the jungle and lived on the fruits of the '*mora*' tree. One of their children came to Minneriya and founded the Minneriya (now Rotawewa) Veddas of the Morane Waruge." We have not visited these people but it may be assumed that they are at least as sophisticated as the "Veddas" of Yakure.

Unapane. Unapane *waruge* is an offshoot from Morane. A chief's daughter was given to another chief's son. When going to the bridegroom's cave the girl got thirsty on the way and the only water available was a minute trickle down the face of a rock. The man allowed this to soak into a piece of cloth which he squeezed into a bamboo from which the girl drank. This is the origin of the name from *una* "bamboo" and *pane* "water," and the descendants of this couple were called Unapane.

Uru. A Morane girl became pregnant and refused to give the name of her lover. She was beaten and driven away from the group and brought forth her child in a hole dug by a wild boar, *uru*, hence the name Uru *waruge*.

Aembala. Aembala *waruge* has sprung from Unapane. An Unapane girl's husband died while she was pregnant, and all her other relations were dead. When her child was born she left it under a tree while she went to dig yams. On her return she found that red ants (*aembaleo*) had blinded her child, whence the child was called Aembeli, and her descendants formed Aembala clan.

Namadewa. An Aembala woman brought forth a female child under a *namada* tree; this girl was therefore named Namadi and from her descendants arose the Namadewa clan.

582 611 Exogamy prevails among the Veddas of Bintenne and Tamankaduwa and clan descent is matrilineal. These conditions also prevail at Godatalawa and therefore must be assumed to have existed at Galmede whence the Godatalawa family had

582 611

come, but strangely this and the nearly related Sitala Wanniya Veddas were the only communities to the east of the Badulla-Batticaloa road in which exogamy prevailed. The Henebedda and Kovil Vanamai Veddas all married freely within the clan. It is, however, probable that this is a recent though not quite modern innovation, since at Henebedda it was said that it was particularly fitting that Morane and Unapane should intermarry.

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Nevill recognised the existence of exogamy, and presumably it was of the Bintenne Veddas that he made the following very definite statement, which applies equally well to the condition of things existing at the present day, even among such sophisticated folk as those of Omuni, where genealogies were taken in order to make quite certain of this matter. "The rule for marriage was stringent. The daughter represents her mother's family, the son also represents his mother's family. In no case did a person marry one of the same family, even though the relationship was lost in remote antiquity. Such a marriage is incest. The penalty for incest is death. Thus the daughter must marry either her father's sister's son, or her mother's brother's son, neither of whom would be of the same clan name. Failing these she may marry any of their name, and should no such bridegroom be available, marriage into a third family becomes necessary[1]."

If the distribution of these Vedda communities in which exogamy prevails be studied on the map it will be seen that with the exception of the Sitala Wanniya and Godatalawa (Galmede) groups all the Veddas to the west of the Badulla-Batticaloa road are exogamous, whereas those to the east of the road contract marriage within the clan. [184]

614 582

As a matter of convenience we now give a list complementary to that on pp. 71 to 74 showing what *waruge* were represented in each of the communities we visited. Danigala: Morane, Unapane, Namadewa (the last not acknowledged). Henebedda: Morane, Unapane, Namadewa (the latter properly forming the Kolombedda community and settlement). Kovil Vanamai (Bandaraduwa): Morane, Unapane, Uru (the latter forming the settlement at Uniche). In all these settlements marriage occurs within the clan.

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 178.

614 **Sitala Wanniya.** The Sitala Wanniya people said that Morane and Unapane were the only *waruge* of which they had any first-hand knowledge. They had, however, heard that formerly three other *waruge* called Uru, Kabela and Aembala existed, and that the folk of these *waruge* were of lower status than the people of Morane and Unapane.

**Godatalawa (Galmede).** These people all belonged to Morane and Unapane *waruge*.

**Unuwatura Bubula.** The *waruge* of this settlement were Morane, Unapane and Bandara *waruge*. Exogamy was strictly adhered to, and the children took their mother's *waruge*. As far [582 as we could determine, all the poverty-stricken Veddas settled 611] on chenas in the neighbourhood of Kallodi and Maha Oya on the Badulla-Batticaloa road belonged either to Morane, Unapane, Bandara (Rugam) or Uru *waruge*, the Morane and Unapane Veddas of the large chena settlement at Rerenkadi holding the last to be of inferior status.

**Lindegala.** Three men, the last remains of the Lindegala Veddas, visited us at Kallodi. The oldest of these, the possessor of the *aude* with inlaid silver work referred to on p. 171, was a rather tall stoutly built man who looked like a Sinhalese. He, however, remembered his *waruge* Morane and stated that his wife belonged to Bandara *waruge* and one of his companions who [611] belonged to this *waruge* had a wife belonging to Morane *waruge*. It was stated that children took their mother's *waruge*.

**Elakotaliya.** The *waruge* of this settlement are Namadewa, 614 Uru and Rugam; exogamy was insisted on, and in all the nine 582 marriages of which we have notes the contracting parties were of different *waruge*. In seven cases Uru and Namadewa *waruge* intermarried, in one instance Namadewa and Rugam *waruge*, while in the last instance the *waruge* of the woman was uncertain. Although it was clearly stated that the children should [611] take their father's *waruge*, it was certain that in some cases they took their mother's *waruge*.

It was said that a man should marry his father's sister's daughter and not his mother's brother's daughter but we could not establish this.

**Kalukalaeba.** Morane, Namadewa, Uru and Rugam *waruge*

are represented in this settlement. Although in conversation no 614
importance was attached to exogamy this must be taken to 582
exist since all of the ten marriages recorded are exogamous. These include six marriages of Morane with Namadewa *waruge*, two of Morane and Uru *waruge* and one each of Morane and Rugam *waruge* and of Rugam and Namadewa *waruge*. Children take their mother's *waruge*.

Yakure. The *waruge* existing here are Namadewa, Aembala, 614
Bendia, Rugam and Tala. Uru *waruge* was known by name 582
but not otherwise, Dehigama was recognised as belonging to the
Uva Bintenne and Morane *waruge* as existing in the neighbour- 611
hood of Omuni. Exogamy was the rule and occurred in every marriage (8) of which we have records. *Waruge* descent should be in the female line but in some instances children took their father's *waruge*. Seeking to elucidate this matter it was said that whereas girls took their mother's *waruge* boys took their father's, but this rule certainly did not hold in all cases[1]. Cousin marriage was said to be the old custom, but it was admitted that at the present day this custom was more often neglected than observed.

Ulpota. This is said to be the most important of four small settlements of village Veddas in the neighbourhood of Dimbulagala (Gunner's Quoin). These settlements are Ulpota, Kohombolewa, Alagonagoda and Gonandamene all of which, according to Mutua our informant, consist of a small number (Kohombolewa eight, Gonandamene three) of huts. Mutua, who said that he was headman of the Tamankaduwa Veddas, gave the *waruge* of these settlements as Rugam, Aembala and Morane; the last being to his mind less numerous and less important than the others. The conditions as regards *waruge* descent and exogamy are the same as at Yakure. Of fifteen marriages recorded eleven are between individuals of Rugam and Aembala

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[1] We may here refer to a statement made while we were investigating this matter at Yakure. "Properly speaking there are no *waruge* among the Veddas, who are only classified into *waruge* for the purpose of marriage." We could not determine what was in our informant's mind, and although we were subsequently told the same by the Ulpota Veddas we could not obtain any light on the subject from either community.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann 8-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

614 *waruge*, the remaining four between Morane and Aembala (2) or
582 Rugam (2) *waruge*.

611 **Dambani.** These extremely sophisticated Veddas probably belong to Namadewa *waruge* and descent is probably matrilineal.

**Malgode (Horaborawewa).** Our informants knew of
614 Namadewa, Dehigama and Kapatu *waruge* and no others, but when Morane *waruge* was mentioned to them one man stated that he had heard of a *waruge* of that name.

**Girandura.** Here too exogamy prevailed though children
[582 took their father's *waruge*, and we could discover no exception to
611] these rules. The marriages we could trace took place between Dehigama and Namadewa *waruge*, and between Dehigama and Uru *waruge*, we consequently assume that these are the *waruge* represented in this community.

## THE COMPARATIVE STATUS OF THE CLANS.

614 The members of the Morane and Unapane clans generally considered themselves superior to the Namadewa, Uru and
554 Aembala *waruge*. This feeling was so strong at Henebedda that much difficulty was at first experienced in collecting genealogies. Representatives of the Morane, Unapane and Namadewa clans were for the time living together at Bendiyagalge caves, and the difference in status between the Morane and Unapane on the one hand, and Namadewa on the other, was felt so strongly that the members of the last-mentioned *waruge* invariably denied their clan, while the Morane and Unapane
[582] folk said the Namadewa were their servants. It seemed clear that in the old days Morane and Unapane folk never married into one of the servile clans, but two or three such marriages had taken place within recent years, and in every case these marriages were at first denied. The most striking proof of this feeling was evinced when we had come to know all the members of the community and pretence had been largely given up; Sita Wanniya and Poromala our usual guides, both Morane men, led us one day to the Namadewa chena. The Namadewa men immediately began an angry protest. "These people," they said, meaning Poromala and Sita Wanniya, "call us Namadewa; it

is not so, we are as good as they," and again on leaving they declared that even if they were not Morane folk they were certainly as good, for had not the eldest born of Kaira the patriarch of Danigala, a Morane man, married a woman from their family? This last statement was proved to be true by the genealogy. As neither we nor our guides said anything to provoke these remarks the intensity of the feeling cannot be doubted. At Bandaraduwa there were only Morane and Unapane men, but they said that Uru *waruge* were their servants, and that some people of this clan lived near Uniche; Wannaku seen later was doubtless one of these. At the chena settlement at Rerenkadi one woman said the Uru *waruge* were "dirty" people. This was one of the first Vedda communities we visited, and the significance of the remark was not realised at the time. At Dambani the people professed to have forgotten their *waruge*; we therefore surmised that they might belong to one of the inferior clans, and later at Horaborawewa a Vedda boy said his mother was a Namadewa woman from Dambani. Additional evidence in support of this view was furnished by the statements of the Alutnuwara Arachi recorded on p. 52. 614 554

The services that the inferior clans were said to render to other clans were as follows: when big game was shot and fish caught the Namadewa men must carry it, and they must make the creeper ladders for gathering rock honey. How much of this work was really done by Namadewa people is extremely difficult to say, it is scarcely credible that when living apart from the servile clans the Morane and Unapane men would send for them to carry a kill, but when Poromala of Henebedda (Morane) had killed a deer and cut it up on the *talawa* near our camp, it was noticed that Kalua, a Namadewa boy who had not been hunting, came down from the cave and carried back the greater part of the meat.

### THE TERRITORIAL GROUPING OF THE CLANS.

Although at the present day it cannot be said that a territorial grouping of the clans certainly exists, or ever existed, there is considerable evidence that this once prevailed. We 614

614 would in the first place refer to what we have already stated to be the geographical distribution of the clans at the present day. The fact that Unapane *waruge*, so important to the east of the Badulla-Batticaloa road and in its immediate vicinity to the west, is absent in Tamankaduwa is extremely suggestive, as is the limited distribution and importance of Morane *waruge* in Tamankaduwa. The existence of only one known Tala *waruge* centre (Yakure) and the limited distribution of Aembala *waruge* which, as far as we can determine, only exists in the country round Gunner's Quoin and among the coast Veddas who have avowedly come from inland, points in the same direction, as does the name Rugam *waruge* derived from the country round the tank of that name and often applied to a sub-group of Morane who are also called Bandara *waruge*. Turning now to evidence of a rather different nature our old Kandyan informant, whose statements have been quoted at length on pp. 29 to 34, was very emphatic in assuring us that the local representatives of Morane and Unapane clans, the two *waruge* with which he was well acquainted in his youth, each had their own territory and caves, and even at the present day the information we were able to gather strongly pointed to Bingoda being an old centre of the Unapane clan, while Danigala was probably a Morane centre. Again Kolombedda was quite definitely said to be the Namadewa territory, and the Bandaraduwa community stated that a certain area in the neighbourhood of Uniche was the domain of the local group of the Uru *waruge*.

# CHAPTER IV

## FAMILY LIFE

THE family life of the wilder Veddas centres round the rock-shelters which are truly their homes, and even among those Veddas who practise chena cultivation, but have not formed permanent settlements, these rock-shelters play an important part, the movements of the community or family group from shelter to shelter being regulated according to season and available food supply. Our experience leads us to believe that the wilder Veddas so greatly prefer rock-shelters to huts that they seldom build the latter, preferring rather to face the inconvenience of travelling some distance daily in search of food, and even to camp for the night under some temporary shelter. Except in this particular Nevill's description of the movements of a Vedda family still holds good if it be remembered that he applies the term "Village Vaedda" to any Vedda who makes even the roughest chena. "The Forest Vaedda forms a home two or three times a year, as the season demands. Thus in the dry hot months when brooks and ponds dry up, the game collects in the low forests around the half dried river beds. He then takes his wife and children, aged parents or crippled relatives, and settles them in a hut close to a place where water can be got. From this he makes his hunting forays, and returns to it with his game. The rain sets in however, and the iguanas, deer, pigs, etc. are scattered over the country; the elk then seek rocky hills, and are followed by the Vaedda. The little household goods, the children, and family party, again are moved up to the high ground, avoiding the malaria that now hangs as a shroud over the forest-clad lowlands. Here, if possible, a cave is chosen for the home, and improved by a slight roof in front, if

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[p. 81]

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too exposed, and around this the food winner ranges.... Besides his high-ground residence, and his low-ground residence, if a tract of forest burst suddenly into flower that attracts vast swarms of bees, or into useful fruit, the family will make a little pic-nic party, and go there for a week or month, if it be too far from the home for daily visits. He cannot, however, be called 'nomadic,' any more than the European who has a town house, and country house, though the climate during the dry season calls for so trifling a shelter, that a permanent house is not required....

"The village Vaedda was originally, and indeed is still, distinguished as one who had added grain cultivation to hunting, honey collecting, and yam digging. When he moved into summer quarters, he set to work and felled a suitable lot of forest and burned it off, in the intervals of hunting. When the rain approached, he put up a hut that would keep his family dry, on this cleared space, and scattered grain seed over the charred surface. Leaving such food as they had stored for use then, in charge of his family, he would go off for days together to the high ground in search of elk, lodging as before in caves. When the weather cleared, and the grain ripened, they collected it, paid away small shares to other less provident clansmen, who had during the wet season sent the family little presents of flesh, while the father was away, and then away they went to another dry season division of their territory, where the mininnas and iguanas abounded. There is thus little difference between the forest and the village Vaedda, except that the latter makes his dry season home sufficiently substantial to keep out rain as well as dew, and that he leaves his family there, and does not take them to the high ground. He has never yet learned to make his clearing into a field or garden, or his six months' hut into a permanent home. We now come to the dwellings themselves. Where an overhanging rock can be found, it is of course sufficient. Otherwise any rock is chosen, and some sticks being laid sloping in front of it, it is roughly thatched with twigs, rushes, and large pieces of bark. A few elk hides, if not bought up by pedlars, will form a screen at one end. If it is only to exclude dew a very few branches or bits of bark suffice[1]."

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. I, 1886, p. 186.

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The protection from the weather offered by the majority of rock-shelters (for they are all so shallow that they scarcely deserve the name of caves) is somewhat scanty, and the drip ledges often cut in their rock walls show how fully this was realised by the Sinhalese who formerly lived in them. Nor are they in any sense capacious, as the plans of Pihilegodagalge

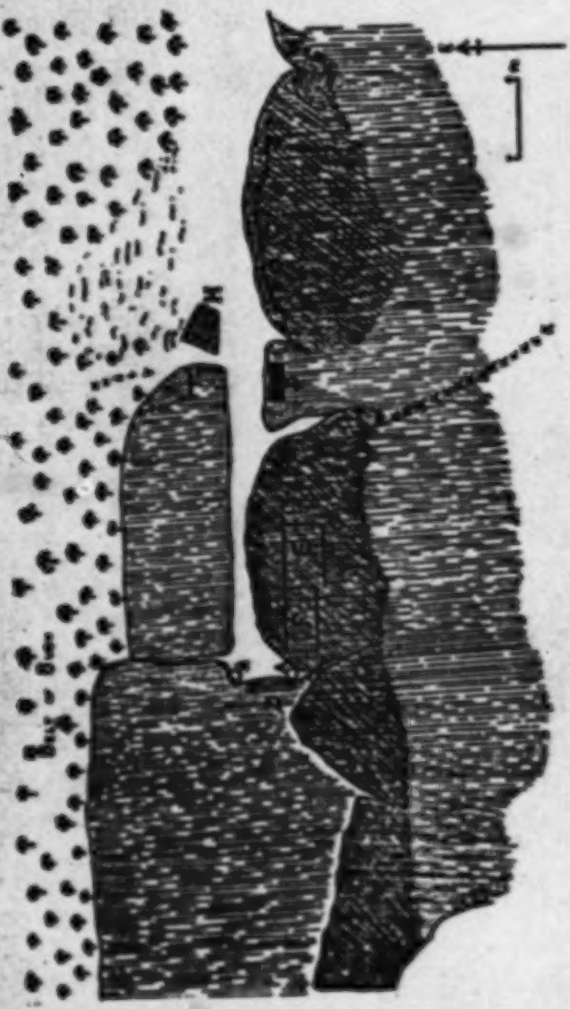

Fig. 1. Plan of caves at Bendiyagalge, the amount of overhang of the roof is roughly indicated by cross-hatching. A, circular holes cut in rock; B, drip ledge; C, termite heap; D, steps cut in rock; E, F, unusually worked and smoothed portions of cave floor; H, boulder upon which lines have been cut; J, face of boulder from which a portion has been detached.

342 (figure 2) and the Bendiyagalge caves (figure 1) show. In the former the shelter was constituted by the weathering back for about five feet of a horizontal stratum softer than the rest of the rock mass. The shelter thus formed was about five feet high at its front and three feet at its back, and from personal experience we can testify that it afforded comparatively good shelter from the wet. This can hardly have been the case with such caves as Bendiyagalge which appear to have been formed by the weathering of a stratum with a dip of about 45 degrees, or by the oblique tilting and subsequent weathering of a rock mass such as appears to have formed Uhapitagalge (Plate XVII, figure 2). Indeed we were told that such shelters as Punchiam-inagalge and Bendiyagalge sometimes became uncomfortably wet. Plate XVII, figure 1, is a view taken to show as much as possible of the rock mass in which the Bendiyagalge shelters are formed, and this figure and that of Uhapitagalge when examined in connection with the plan of Bendiyagalge will give a good idea of the possibilities of a Vedda rock-shelter as a home. As will be seen from Plate XVIII, figures 1 and 2 of Pihilegodagalge (Sitala Wanniya), no care is taken to keep the cave clean. At Bendiyagalge we noticed an unpleasant odour about the cave due to the lack of sanitary precautions taken by the members of the comparatively large community then living in these caves. Plate XIX, figure 1, shows the general appearance of these caves including the steps (Plate IX) hewn in the rock between the lower and upper caves and the worked edge of the upper cave forming a drip-ledge. Plate XIX, figure 2, is an early morning scene in the cave, and was taken soon after its occupants had awakened.

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The love of the wilder Veddas for their rock-shelters, as well as their disregard for climatic conditions, is well illustrated by a remark made by Handuna the oldest and most influential man among the Sitala Wanniya Veddas, "It is pleasant for us to feel the rain beating on our shoulders, and good to go out and dig yams and come home wet and see the fire burning in the cave and sit round it."

152 Such a remark is in itself evidence of a cheerful disposition, and before going any further we must describe the Vedda

Plate XVII

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Fig. 1. General view of the rock shelters at Bendiyagalge

Fig. 2. Uhapitagalge rock shelter

[facing p. 84a]

Plate XVIII

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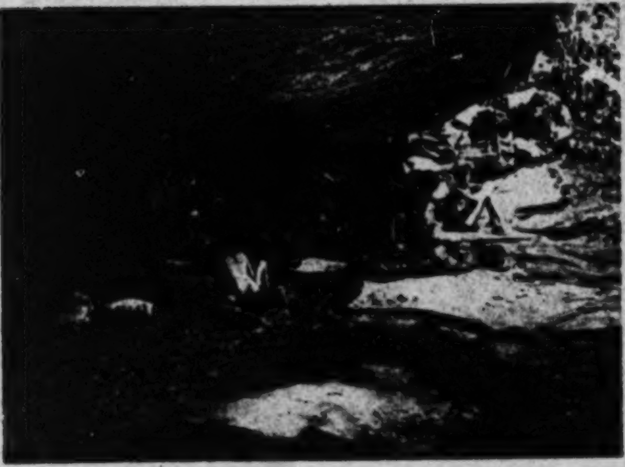

Fig. 1. Pihilegodagalge rock shelter

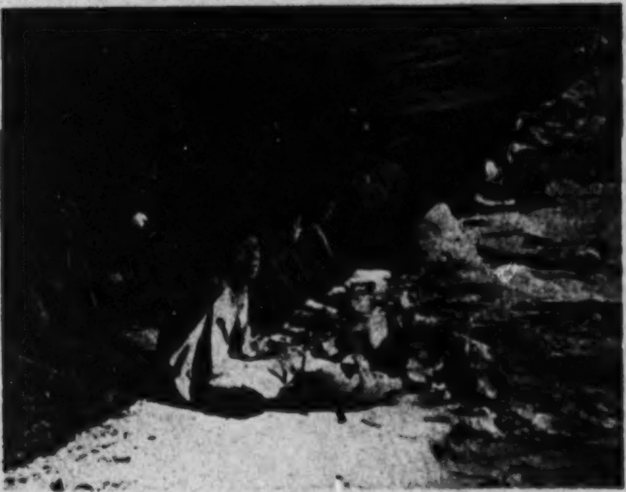

Fig. 2. Part of Pihilegodagalge rock shelter

[facing p.84 b]

Plate XIX

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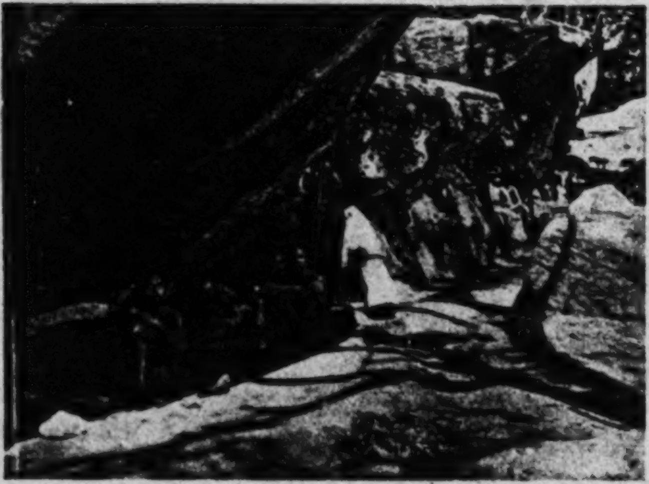

Fig. 1. Lower rock shelter at Bendiyagalge

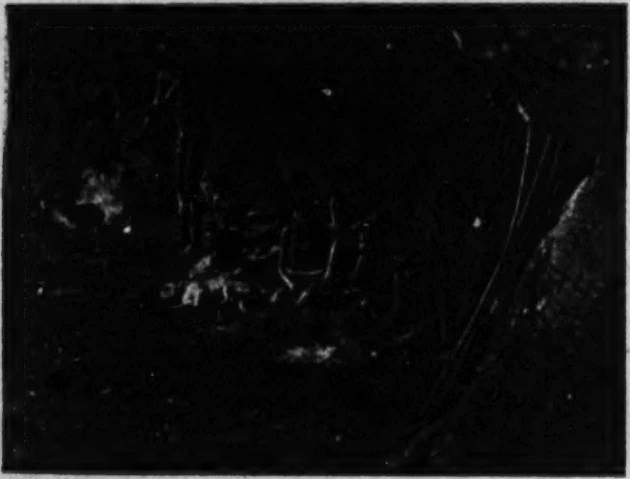

Fig. 2. Early morning scene in lower rock shelter at Bendiyagalge

[facing p. 84c]

temperament. Travellers have called the Vedda morose, and stated that he never laughs; this belief has doubtless been strengthened by the disagreeable behaviour of the "show" Veddas (see p. 50), yet Veddas have told us how they throw leaves in the air and laugh and dance for joy. Nevill was certainly right when he said, "They are a merry people, delighting in riddles, songs and jests. Mr Hartshorn observed some Vaeddas who never laughed in his presence. They must have been either terrified, or sulky and offended, for those I have seen, of all clans, laugh often and merrily, a habit very strongly contrasted with that of the Sinhalese, who scarcely ever go beyond a smile. They burst into a verse of song, now and again, apparently from sheer exuberance of spirits, and any ludicrous incident amuses them[1]."

At Bendiyagalge we were particularly well situated to observe their behaviour, our camp being out of sight of the Vedda cave but within 200 yards of it, here we could listen to their unrestrained chatter and laughter which was especially noticeable at sunset. It is true that their faces express no emotion of pleasure or gratitude when they are given exactly what they expect. Thus, white cloth, which the men like to wear, is well known to them, they buy it themselves from the Moormen pedlars, it is the usual present for a European to make to Veddas, and they receive it with perfectly stolid faces, and are hence dubbed sullen. We had an excellent example of this at Henebedda when we gave a piece of white cloth to Poromala the senior of the group, whom we knew well and who had frequently smiled and laughed in our presence. When, however, a sharp pruning knife was given him his face beamed like a schoolboy's, he ran his thumb along the blade and tried its edge on pieces of grass. Things new to them which we showed

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. I, 1886, p. 192. Veddas often dance for a few moments when pleased, thus a Henebedda Vedda on being given a piece of sacking to cover himself with after complaining of cold, immediately held it over his head, bowed his body forward and went through a few dance steps, singing the while. On another occasion this man and three companions (all young men) began to dance spontaneously. This was about 9 p.m. one night in the courtyard of the Ambilinne Rest House, where they had visited us, their sense of well-being in this case may have been stimulated by a liberal feed of curry and rice which had been given them, but we do not think they danced in payment for this.

Things new to them which we showed

them often provoked peals of laughter; to see the eldest and
152 most venerable man solemnly have his thumb nail pressed by
[522] a brass machine (algometer) was particularly amusing to the
rest of the community, one man actually rolling on the ground
with laughter. The old man took it all in excellent part and
smiled indulgently. Doubtless Veddas vary much in character,
but all except the "show" Veddas are genial and courteous,
and have always been rightly considered truthful. At Sitala
153 Wanniya Handuna was the most intelligent man, keenly in-
554 terested in all the new things we showed him; he obviously
156 ruled the community by force of character, coupled with the
fact that he was a shaman. Nila, however, was also a shaman,
but he was obviously not so strong a man as Handuna, to whose
opinion he deferred, and naturally took second place. Vela,
half-brother of Handuna, was extremely shy but by no means
stupid, he generally tried to get out of doing things, professing
inability, but when urged by Handuna did everything as well
as the other men. Kaira, *bæna* (son-in-law) to Handuna, was
intelligent and talkative and inclined to be boastful. Pema, *bæna*
to Nila, did not speak much, chiefly we thought because he was
a young man and had not much to tell, for although he did not
chatter like Kaira he smiled and did not hang his head when
addressed, as Vela did.

Whether staying in a "private" or "communal" cave the
342 family life continues in much the same manner. If in a com-
592 munal cave, each family keeps strictly within its own limits,
621 the women may always be seen at exactly the same spot, and
423 when the men come in they sit or lie beside their wives,
keeping to that part of the cave floor that belongs to them
as carefully as though there was a partition dividing it from
that of their neighbours. Figure 2 is a plan of Pihilegodagalge
showing the actual division of floor space. Food is frequently
621 cooked by one woman and shared by all the members of
422 the community, in fact, although it might be cooked separately,
it did not seem that any food was private property. One
other fact was very noticeable in communal caves, namely,
that men never kept their bows and arrows in their own
division, but always put them all together in a particular

place. The "arsenal" at Bendiyagalge is well seen in Plate XIX, figures 1 and 2, while at Pihilegodagalge all the bows and arrows were rested on an old ant heap in the centre of the cave. 621 422

Though men do sometimes dig for yams, hunting is essentially their work, and yams were usually dug by the women who also do the cooking. This is of the simplest kind; yams are roasted in ashes, in which way meat may also be cooked, while practically everything else is boiled in a pot over three stones. Many Veddas also know how to cook curry, and deer's flesh is dried on a rack and smoked. A rack is built usually in a sunny place, the meat is put on this and a smoky fire kept burning beneath it, the flesh is thus dried in the sun and smoked simultaneously. This process is usually superintended by men. [462] 252 251

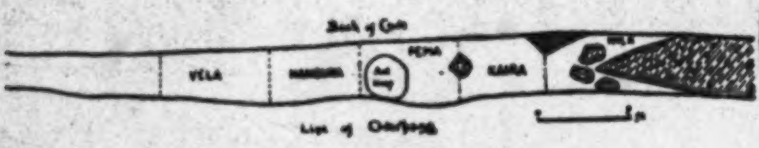

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Fig. 2. Plan of Pihilegodagalge.

Plate XVII, figure 1, shows a rack built to smoke meat on the top of the Bendiyagalge rock-mass.

A Vedda will never sleep on the ground if there is any rock upon which he can lie. If he has a deerskin or a piece of cloth he will lie on it, if not he does not seem to object to the cold rock, and so avoids contact with the ground damp from the heavy dews. He always keeps a small fire burning beside him; this was noticed by Nevill, who says: "A Vaedda never sleeps without a smouldering fire by his side. I am assured, should accident oblige them to do so, they have usually died from a fever caught by the omission[1]." 513 374

The Veddas are strictly monogamous, and we were able to confirm Bailey's observations as regards their marital fidelity. "Their constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character in a country where conjugal fidelity is certainly not classed as the highest of domestic virtues. Infidelity, [595] 837

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, Aug. 1886, p. 187.

837 whether in the husband or the wife, appears to be unknown, and
I was very careful in my inquiries on this subject. Had it
existed, the neighbouring Sinhalese would have had no hesitation in accusing them of it, but I could not obtain a trace
of it[1]."

The only case of suicide of which we heard took place in
762 connection with a breach of the common rule of conjugal fidelity.
837 Tissahami, the husband of Kumi, younger sister of the headman
of the Bandaraduwa Veddas, carried on an intrigue with his
*naena*, an unmarried girl named Kirimenike. When his wife
who was not one of his *naena* discovered the intrigue, she
scolded her husband most unmercifully, "Why go to another
woman while I live?—better to have gone to your mother than
her." Although his intrigue with Kirimenike was of old standing,
Tissahami was so upset with the disgrace of publicity that he
killed himself in the compound outside his own hut early one
morning. He had a gun, and holding the muzzle to the suprasternal notch, he pulled the trigger with his toe. The dead man's
[626] relatives were very angry with Kumi for driving him to desperation but they did not threaten her, nor in any way molest her.
Kumi and Kirimenike belonged to the same *waruge* (Morane)
but were unrelated. Kirimenike subsequently married a Vedda,
and went to live at Syringawala where she remained until she
died.

562 (In every respect the women seem to be treated as the equals
of the men) they eat the same food; indeed, when we gave
609 presents of food the men seemed usually to give the women
and children their share first; the same applies to areca nut
and other chewing stuffs. The women are jealously guarded by
the men, who do not allow traders or other strangers to see
them, and those at Sitala Wanniya were too shy to visit our
camp, though they welcomed us to their cave, and the dances
performed for our benefit took place in the dense jungle so that
the women might be present and partake of the food offered to
the *yaku*. We had offered to clear a space by our camp where
the light would have been better for photography; however, the

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[1] J. Bailey, "Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," 1863, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. II, p. 291.

men explained that though the ceremonies themselves might be 562 performed anywhere the women would not come to our camp, so 609 the dances must take place at the usual dancing ground in the jungle. The day after hearing the phonograph at our camp, the men came to us to request that we should take it to the cave as they had told their wives about it, and they all wanted to hear it too. From these examples the position of Vedda women will be understood.

Writing in 1887 Nevill notices a similar state. "As a rule, among the purer Veddas, the younger women are rigorously excluded or rather protected from contact with strangers. They occupy, however, an honourable and free position in the society of their relations. I only once saw the good-looking girls of the pure Vedda family. My guide was then ahead of our party with me, and abruptly, without explanation further than the word 'my house,' dived into the forest, beckoning me to follow. We had only gone a few hundred yards from the path, when we reached a glade with a little shed. Here a party of girls and women and children were collected, and at sight of us the younger women began to slip away into the woods, but at a word from my guide stopped. They then advanced and one by one stepped up to me with graceful courtesy, each making 576 a Sinhalese bow with both hands when quite close to me, and then stepped aside, with or without a few words of simple welcome. There was no haste or reluctance, nor any approach to curiosity shown. I stopped talking with some of the elder 142 women for a short time, and then went on. Three or four of the 562 women had most exquisite figures, like statues of Psyche, and 609 a clear brown skin. They were bare to the waist, and from the knees down. I never saw Vaedda women at all comparable to these, and then only did I realise the stories I had heard from Sinhalese, of the former great beauty of the Vaedda women. On our return, the clan met us by official appointment; but these girls, and one equally statuesque young mother, were conspicuously absent, and I saw it was understood I should regard my interview as a confidential honour, intentionally arranged to make me feel I was personally trusted and distinguished."

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609 "It is probable good-looking women have often been kept back by others who had not equal confidence in me[1]."

Veddas are affectionate and indulgent parents, never refusing
855 a small child anything it wants and giving it always of the best. We have frequently seen men save for their children food which had been given to them and which they considered specially good, such as bananas or coconuts. The babies are generally happy, but should they cry their wishes are immediately gratified by either parent. We saw a naked boy of about two and a half years strut proudly up and down outside Pihilegodagalge with his father's axe hung on his shoulder, he was extremely happy and all went well until he threatened one of the dogs with the axe, then his mother was obliged to interfere and the child tried to hit her with it; the father seeing this got up and tried to coax the child into giving up the axe, but the boy was now excited and would not give it up, at last he flung it at his father and hit his leg. The man was obviously annoyed and threw the axe from him into the jungle, but he did not attempt to scold or punish the child who was now howling with rage, indeed, after a little while some food was given him to pacify him.

Another time a woman who had been cutting yams with a knife put this down, when her baby snatched it up, and although she was obliged to watch lest he hurt himself, she allowed him to play with the knife. Yet when a child is old enough to wear a little rag in the way of clothing, possibly from
858 six to eight years old, he is expected to behave himself properly and strange to say he does so. One day it was raining heavily, and we were all sitting in the rock shelter at Pihilegodagalge; at the further end of the cave we noticed a lad of seven or nine years old having a heated argument with his mother, suddenly he turned round and went out into the rain, when he returned he had controlled his temper; later we remarked on this and were told that the lad was considered old enough to behave as a man; a boy of this age would not hit his mother as a little
855 child might do and yet be excused. It may here be mentioned
291 that children of both sexes go naked until about six or seven years old, though perhaps the general age for the assumption of

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 192.

clothing is younger in the case of girls than boys. The boy 855 assumes a piece of rag attached to a string in the same manner 291 as men, while girls wear a piece of stuff fastened round their hips like a sarong. A child's first cloth is put on by its mother without any ceremony. The only toys seen were bows and arrows, and these are possessed by every male child. We never 524 saw a little girl play with a bow and arrow, but mothers make 857 them for the baby boys while these are still crawling about. Such toys of course are small and roughly made, but bigger boys of five years old and upwards make quite neat little bows, and shoot with them tolerably well; they do not feather their arrows. Other children were seen playing with clay and sticks; and girls frequently play with broken pots with which they pretend to cook.

As women take the children with them when they go out to 868 dig for yams little girls soon learn to do this, and boys would begin to be taken out hunting when about ten years old. It was difficult to find out whether the fathers' or mothers' brothers took the greater part in training the boys and it seemed that a lad eager to go out hunting would be taken by any grown man, who in the very small community is usually a relative. Lads would be encouraged by their elders to shoot at a mark with their bows and arrows, and later they would stalk small birds and shoot fish[1].

When a child tells a lie he may be told "Go away, I do not believe what you say," but it appeared that even young children were usually truthful. One thing is taught the lads systematically, that is the method of collecting honey from the combs of the rock bee. Whenever the caves are conveniently situated a ladder of creepers is suspended from a tree in the jungle 524 above and hangs over the end of the face of rock which forms 857 the cave. On this the youths play at "honey getting." At 868 Pihilegodagalge the lads were quite willing to demonstrate to us how it was done, and the elder men showed clearly that this

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[1] Nevill, in the *Taprobanian* (Vol. 1, 1886, p. 189), says "......a pellet bow is used occasionally by small boys, and birds are often shot with it, though the aim seems very uncertain." Pellet bows were seen at Henebedda, they are used regularly by the Sinhalese in the neighbourhood, and we do not doubt that the practice was introduced by them. [411]

524 857 868 was a game which they encouraged. A lad of about thirteen collected some green leaves and tied them together with creeper, then taking an arrow, a toy *masliya*, and a broken gourd tied with creeper, which hung over his arm, for a *maludema*, he set fire to the leaves and climbed the ladder[1]. While lowering the smoker and letting the smoke blow into the crevice in the rock where the comb was supposed to be, he pretended to cut round its sides with an arrow and thrust at it with his *masliya* (figure 3), from which he transferred the honey into the gourd. As he descended from the ladder he beat his chest and sides as though driving off the bees, and directly he reached the ground rushed into the jungle to escape from them, all the smaller children imitating him with great glee. Obviously this was a well-known and favourite game, for even the elders took part in it, throwing their cloths over their heads and running into the jungle.

At Henebedda (which we visited before Pihilegodagalge) 524 857 there were no children present when we spoke about honey getting, but four young men were eager to show us how it was done and acted the scene with great spirit. They took from our camp a piece of white and a piece of brown paper, and fastened them with some wax to the roof of their cave, then as there was no tree above the cave around which to fasten a creeper, one man crouched on the top of the rock and held the ends of the ladder in his hands, another stood above and lowered a smoker of green leaves while a third climbed the ladder and collected the honey from the white paper and the grubs from the brown. Afterwards the collector divided the spoil equally and amid much laughter they all sat down and pretended to eat, one actually going through the pantomime of washing his hands after the meal. They eat the grubs as well as the honey.

[439] 241 As regards clothing, pedlars have brought them cloth for so long that no Vedda living knows what was done when they could not buy it, but it is generally stated that they made bark

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[1] The *maludema* is the vessel made of deerskin in which honey should be collected and the *masliya* the wooden four-pronged implement with which the comb is broken 412 415 up and transferred to the *maludema*. For figures of *maludema* and *masliya*, see Plate LXV and figure 3 (p. 93) respectively.

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cloth of the *riti* (*Antiaris innoxia*) of which material the Sinhalese still make rice bags. Men wear a rag of "white" cotton about 9 inches wide passed between their legs, and held in place by each end being passed over a waist string. This cotton material they prefer to anything else for two reasons, firstly, it very soon becomes a dull brown, and hence is less obvious when hunting than a coloured cloth would be, secondly, it is thin machine-made material from which they can easily tear narrow strips for tinder, when they make fire. The women wear coloured cotton cloth of the kind that is woven at Batticaloa, it is a strong material and is not easily torn. A single width forms the length of their skirt from waist to knee and is fastened round their waists like a sarong. Thus, the men's preference for "white" and the women's for coloured cloth is purely economical, depending on the kind of material it has been the pedlar's habit to bring. These pedlars visit the wilder Veddas once a year after the honey collecting season; they never approach the caves, but when within about a quarter of a mile of them they shout till a Vedda comes to them, then they expose their wares and the Vedda returns to the cave to fetch as many pots and gourds of honey and as much dried flesh as he is willing to exchange. The "silent trade," mentioned by Knox[1], is now a legend among the Sinhalese of which no tradition lingers among the Veddas. We have Bailey's evidence that it had ceased before 1863, and the old Kandyan we met (see p. 31) remembered it only as a tradition in the days of the rebellion in 1818. "They are not now, nor have they been for very long, so shy as to be prevented from bartering freely enough

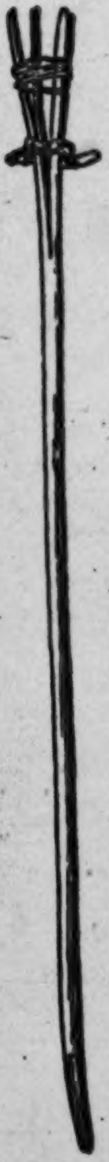

Fig. 3. Toy masliya × $\frac{1}{12}$ (about).

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[1] Cf. p. 6.

Plate XX

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Rough shelter built for isolation of women at Unuwatura Bubula

[facing p.94]

437 with the Sinhalese, although, unless for the purpose of barter, they avoid intercourse with strangers. Their wants, however, 439 are so few, that they rarely emerge from their forests[1].

"I need not say that they are very simple and primitive in their habits. The 'wilder sort' have had too little communication with Sinhalese to have acquired the vices of civilization. The few necessities of life which the forest does not supply, such as steel and iron for their arrowheads and axes, and the very scanty clothing which they wear, they obtain by barter, their wax, and honey, elk flesh and ivory, being eagerly sought after by the neighbouring Sinhalese, or 'the ubiquitous Moors'[2]."

881 There are no puberty ceremonies for either sex, except among certain Veddas who have been much influenced by Tamils or Sinhalese, among whom the girls are isolated for a short time at puberty. Thus although the following ceremony is observed at puberty by the Uniche Veddas, there is no doubt that it has [177] been borrowed from the local Sinhalese who have a similar ceremony, though according to our information the latter people do not break the pot. When a girl becomes unwell for the first time one of her *naena* places a pot of water on her head and goes with her to some place where there is a *nuga* tree. Here the *naena* takes the pot from the girl's head and dashes it on the ground so that the pot breaks. The girl is then secluded in a specially built shelter in which she stays until the end of the period, when she washes and returns to her parents' house. [602] During her seclusion she is attended by a girl, always one of her *naena*, who brings her food in a vessel set apart for this purpose but which is not cooked at a special fire. Among the 841 wilder Veddas no special measures are taken when a woman menstruates, she is allowed to eat the ordinary food, and to [184] sleep in the cave as usual. But among all the village Veddas, 177 and most of those who have mixed at all with the Sinhalese, the menstruous women are strictly isolated, a little shelter being built for them a few paces from the family hut (Plate XX). At Bendiyagalge, where the Henebedda and Kolombedda people were staying at the time of our visit, menstruous women stayed apart at one corner of the cave, they were fed from the pot in

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[1] Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 285—286.

[2] Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 291.

which the food for the community was cooked, but we do not think they would touch it or assist in any way in the cooking. At Omuni a menstruous woman is isolated under a rough shelter where she is waited upon by a younger unmarried sister or cousin who, it was stated, should not herself have attained puberty. During her seclusion she may eat any food cooked at the ordinary fire, but a special platter is kept for her use. The girls who look after her suffer no restrictions. This happens every time a girl or woman menstruates. 841

Marriage takes place at an early age; it was said that girls sometimes married before puberty, and as we heard of this at Henebedda, Bandaraduwa, and Omuni, we see no reason to doubt the truth of the statement[1]. At Omuni it was pointed out that a certain amount of breast development was necessary before marriage, so that it is probable that connection does not antedate puberty by more than a short time. 582 [856]

With regard to the frequency of such child marriages, we can only say that we never saw any very young girls with babies. Perhaps at the present day prenuptial connection is more common than marriage between the very young, though it is obviously difficult to decide when prenuptial love-making between individuals destined for each other gives place to marriage, among people whose marriages are accompanied with but slight ceremony. It must be remembered that (the marriage gift of landed or personal property to a son-in-law,) which was formerly customary, is obsolescent at the present day, and this not only makes it more difficult to determine whether marriage has taken place, but probably actually tends to make the exact time of the assumption of the married state less clearly defined. 836 [585] [583]

On account of these considerations we are unable to express any definite opinion as to the frequency of prenuptial connection, the few instances we heard of were between individuals occupying the relationship of *kura* and *naena*, who would in any case marry each other. Thus Kaira of Henebedda and his wife grew up in the same group, and as they had played together as

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[1] We are indebted to Mr Frederick Lewis for the information that this is a common practice among Tamils.

836 children so they came together as they grew up. The community came to know of what had occurred, the couple were considered married, and now go about together. We were told that no resentment was felt or expressed by the girl's parents or the community, and there was no formal giving over of land or property to Kaira by his father-in-law, because, as was pointed out, the fathers of Kaira and Hudi both belonged to the same group and together moved about over the same land.

We think it may be said that among most Veddas at the present day, especially such as have come in contact with the Sinhalese, there is no violent feeling against prenuptial connection of the sort here described, but we believe that formerly public opinion was definitely and strongly against the practice, though on this point we do not attempt to dogmatise. There was no doubt as to the attitude of public opinion towards connection between people who were not allotted to each other. This was, and still is, strongly disapproved, and there is no doubt that in the old days the guilty parties risked their lives.
835 It was, however, clear that intrigues of this sort did sometimes
684 occur, and we heard of two instances of what are regarded as incestuous unions which occurred among the Kovil Vanamai Veddas some fifty or sixty years ago. In both cases the girls cohabited with their mothers' sisters' sons, and in both instances the guilty parties were promptly killed by the outraged group. The men were set upon in the jungle, their own fathers it was said taking a prominent part in the assault, while the girls were killed in the huts in which they were living[1].

582 As already mentioned the correct marriage among the Veddas, as among the Sinhalese, is for a man to marry his

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[1] The matter has been well stated by Nevill who writing more than twenty years
[837] ago says: "The Vaeddas marry young, and are strict monogamists. Consequently the husband and wife are watchfully jealous, each of the other, and love-intrigues are few and far between. Nothing short of murder would content the injured party. This strict morality extends to unmarried girls, who are protected by their guardians with the keenest sense of honour" (*Taprobanian*, Vol. I, p. 178). We do not, however, agree even partially with his statement as to the considerable liberty allowed to widows, we believe that among the wilder Veddas their morality was as strict as that of the maidens and it must be remembered that it was, and is, unusual for any but old women to remain widows for any length of time.

father's sister's daughter. The children of two sisters or of two 582
brothers could not marry, and such a connection would be
considered incestuous. The man goes to his future father-in-law 583
with a present of honey, yams, grain or dried deer's flesh tied to his 431
unstrung bow which he uses as a carrying stick. Whether he
generally repeats this visit or receives his bride immediately was
not clear, and probably the custom varies in this particular.
Handuna of Godatalawa told us that he did not take his bride
away until he had twice taken a present of food to his mother's
brother (father-in-law). The bride gives her spouse a waist 584
string of her own making which he never removes until it is
worn out, when he replaces it with another made by his wife. 585
In these particulars the marriage ceremony was essentially 431
similar fifty years ago when it was described by Bailey. "The
bachelor Veddah who meditates matrimony, himself selects the
lady of his choice, wisely preferring his own judgement to that
of others; and providing himself with the greatest 'delicacies
of the season,' for example, a pot of honey and a dried iguano,
proceeds to her father's hut and states the object of his visit.
There being no objection to the proposed alliance, the father
calls his daughter, who comes forth with a cord of her own
twisting in her hand. She ties this round the bridegroom's
waist, and they are man and wife. The man always wears this
string. Nothing would induce him to part with it. When it
wears out it is the wife's duty to twist a new one and bind it
round him[1]."

When a girl married, her father usually made over to his 583
son-in-law a tract of land, generally a hill known to be inhabited 431
by colonies of the *bambara* or rock bee (*Apis indica*), or gave him
a piece of personal property such as a bow or one or two arrows.
The instances in which land was given are described in the
section on land transference, so that here it is only necessary
to mention instances in which personal property was given.
Handuna received a bow and one arrow from his father-in-law
who when presenting them accompanied his gift with the remark
"With this bow you must get food for my daughter." Sometimes a dog is given, and Knox was certainly right when he

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[1] J. Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 293.

Plate XXI

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431
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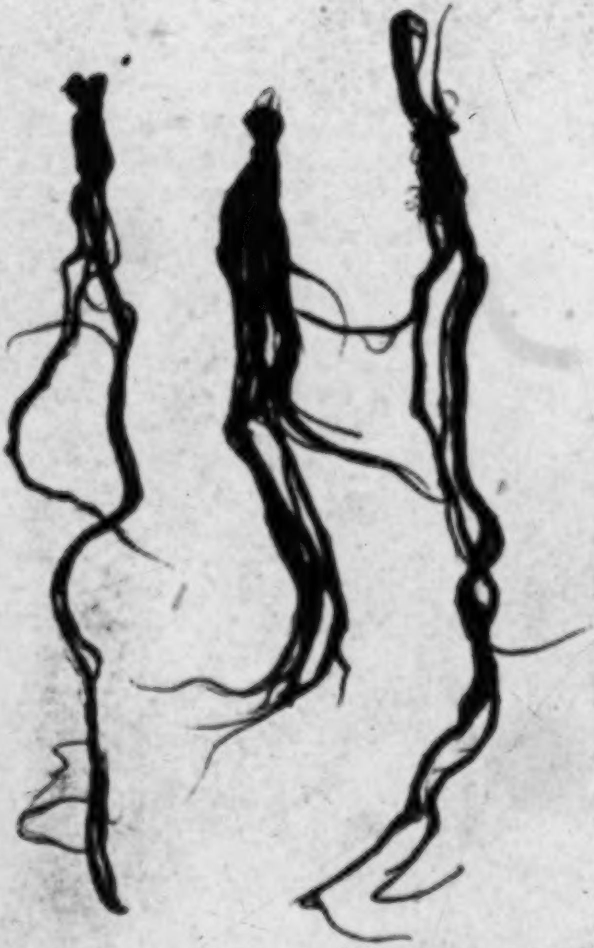

Locks of hair presented to brides at marriage

[Facing p. 98]

583 431 said "For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give hunting Dogs." Among the village Veddas of Bintenne we heard that an axe or catty was sometimes given, though the Arachi of Belligala, who has been much in contact with the Dambani Veddas, stated that these sometimes presented land to their sons-in-law.

In one settlement of village Veddas, Bulugahaladena, we were told that the bridegroom takes a first present to the bride's father and leaves his bow and arrow in his hut until his second visit with further presents some four days later. At the same place the waist string is sometimes charmed to ensure constancy. Among many of the village Veddas the custom of the gift of the waist string is dying out, and the bridegroom gives the bride a cloth as is the custom among the Sinhalese.

Another custom now dying out appears to be the gift from the bridegroom to the bride of a lock of hair, presented at the same time as the food to the girl's father.

We discovered at Bendiyagalge that it is a common practice 302 for women to wear false hair. Here we were told that it was merely worn in order to make the knot look important, but only by married women. It is improbable that the habit should have arisen among a people so careless of personal appearance as are the Veddas had it no other significance than adornment, for it must be remembered that these folk never brush or oil their hair, or even wash it; indeed, some consider the last operation extremely dangerous, so that the ornamental value of a very small wisp of hair may reasonably be doubted. Extra locks of hair are worn by Sinhalese women, and we have seen some hanging in the verandah of a mud hut in a small jungle village, but among them it is a very different matter. They are usually, and very rightly, proud of their masses of long glossy hair, which they comb and oil carefully. A naturally large knot is considered a beauty, especially when stabbed with a jewelled pin, and girls as well as married women will wear an extra lock to produce this effect, but that the custom should have been introduced from the Sinhalese with no other object than that of personal adornment, about which the Veddas seem to care so little[1], seems as improbable as does the

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[1] The Vedda attitude towards ornament generally is treated on p. seq.

hypothesis that it should have arisen among them solely for 302
that object.

We believe that a lock of hair, either from his own head or 302
from his sister's, was a customary present from the bridegroom to 431
the bride, and therefore to be considered part of the wedding
ceremony. The evidence obtained at Bendiyagalge, though not 585
directly bearing out this point of view, supports the hypothesis when considered in conjunction with the information given us at Sitala Wanniya. The wife of old Poromala at Bendiyagalge wore a piece of hair which Poromala had given her. He had not cut it off his own head but had saved the hair which had come out when combing his hair with his hands, and Handi his wife considered this tail of hair as a valuable possession and said she would leave it to her eldest married daughter when she died. She told us that a woman would burn her lock of hair if she had no daughters. She also said that women would only wear hair from their husbands' heads and laughed at the idea of a man wearing an extra piece of hair, although the men usually wear their hair in the same way as the women.

At Sitala Wanniya each married man was questioned separately.

Handuna, the oldest man and our best informant, said that 302
in former days a lock of hair was always given by the bridegroom 431
to the bride, and if he did not offer it, the young girl might ask 585
for it and insist upon having it. In that case the prospective
bridegroom would have to cut it off his own head, if his sister 593
happened to be away at the time or if he had no sister, for it was her duty to give one to her brother if she knew that he wanted it for a wedding gift. A man would always be loath to cut his hair, and there are special regulations against this for shamans, so if the girl is willing to accept him without his present, and he is unable to obtain it from his sister or *naena*, the gift will be allowed to lapse. This happened when both Handuna and Vela married. No man would give hair to anyone except his wife. Kaira gave his wife a lock of hair when he was married, and he obtained it in the following way. He said that when discussing the matter of his future marriage at home, and feeling sore at having no hair to give his bride, his younger

302 sister said, "Don't be sorry, I will give you a lock of my hair."
431 She cut a lock from her own head, which he kept until his
585 marriage when he gave it to his wife while she was still at her
593 father's cave. Then he took her to his own cave where she made him a waist string on the second or third day after marriage. To his sister who was then unmarried he gave an axe out of gratitude. Niia cut a lock from his head to give his wife, as his sister was away at the time he was married, otherwise she would have given him one. Pema did not give his wife any hair as her mother had given her some.

Among the village Veddas at Unuwatura Bubula the custom
302 of giving hair as a wedding gift was not known, yet the shaman's
431 wife had a lock which her mother had given her. She assured
585 us that only married women might wear it.

184 Anything like a formal divorce is unknown, but we heard of
586 one instance occurring three generations ago, in which a woman who had gone to live with her husband left him and returned to her parents. The daughter of a Bingoda man, whose nickname Kupunkarea is still remembered, was given to a boy nicknamed Kankuna "Sore Eyes." As he was lazy and took no trouble to support his wife, so that she was frequently obliged to go to her parents for food, they kept her with them. Kankuna was very angry, but he did not threaten violence or attempt to bring back his wife by force. Later she was given to a Vedda of Bandaraduwa and after his death she went to live with a Sinhalese. It was said that she was an unusually pretty girl.

It is quite certain that polyandry never existed among
595 uncontaminated Veddas, but at Henebedda we met with one case that must, we think, be called by this name. Before relating this we may, however, call attention to the fact that polyandry is a tolerably common practice among the Sinhalese peasants of the Vedirata, as it is among the less educated classes in other parts of the island[1].

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[1] Cf. *Papers on the Custom of Polyandry as practised in Ceylon*, Government Record Office, Colombo, in which Mr R. W. Ievers, speaking of the Kegalla district, says:—"Having been for six years in charge of a Kandyan district (Kegalle), and having to deal with land cases involving rights of inheritance, and having, as Registrar of Kandyan Marriages, to hear divorce cases, I have found that the custom of polyandry was almost universal; and that in the case of a marriage registered under

The individuals concerned in the polyandrous marriage at 595 Henebedda are Handuna (8), the Vidane Appuhami (4), and Kandi (10)[1]. It will be seen from the genealogy that Handuna and Appuhami are the sons of a brother and sister, both have intercourse with Kandi, though the latter is nominally the wife of Handuna who is the older man. Kandi is an unusually pretty woman and considerably younger than either. We were told that Appuhami at one time lived with Badeni (11), his father's sister's grandchild, but was compelled to give her up on account of the jealousy displayed by Kandi.

We have already pointed out that a man spends much of his 591 time with his father-in-law, i.e. with his wife's people, hunting and wandering with them and having perfectly free access to his father-in-law's hunting ground and fishing pools; at Sitala Wanniya we were told that after a few days spent in a shelter on the territory in the man's community to which the bridegroom carried his bride on first receiving her, the young couple should return to the bride's group. Even at the present day this is the case to a great extent, though among settled communities as at Bandaraduwa there is a tendency for the women to come to the man's community and stay there with him[2].

Pregnancy is diagnosed after two menstrual periods have [843] been missed. The change in the breasts is not noticed. Birth 844 takes place in the cave (unless labour should come on suddenly and occur in the jungle); no screen is put up, and any woman will assist the parturient woman; the cord is cut with an arrow—the common tool used for all cutting purposes—and the afterbirth is thrown away. The umbilicus is treated with cloth and ashes, and the portion of the umbilical cord which drops [845] from the navel is not preserved. We never heard of a case of twins.

During labour the patient leans back with one shoulder or

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the [illegible] the name of the elder brother was given as that of the bridegroom, but everyone was aware that the girl would regard the other brothers as being equally her husbands."

[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the genealogy on p. 60.

[2] Both *binna* and *diga* marriages occur among the peasant Sinhalese but, according to Mr Bibile, *diga* marriage is the commoner practice.

844 side supported by an angle of the rock, and a woman behind
her supports her and presses down upon her shoulders. The
woman remains in the cave for three or four days after the
birth. At Sitala Wanniya there are no food taboos, but at
843 Henebedda a pregnant woman avoids *madu*, which fruits are
262 said to produce diarrhoea and vomiting, and two kinds of
yams which also purge and are believed to induce still-birth.
A nursing mother must eat neither the fat of the monitor lizard
853 nor *rilawa* flesh, as these are said to produce purging and would
262 kill the infant. She may, however, eat the meat of the grey ape
*wandura*. The fat of the spotted deer also spoils the milk, and
if the mother eats *mora* fruit the child will get worms. The
844 Henebedda Veddas, who are partially cave and hut dwellers,
say that if a birth occurs in the cave a screen is made round
[184] the parturient woman. Among all the settled Veddas, as among
the rural Sinhalese, a special hut is built in which birth occurs.
The afterbirth is commonly buried in the hut among village
Veddas, and no Veddas seem to attach any special importance
to its disposal.

[843 At Uniche a pregnant woman would not eat venison or hare's
262] flesh. The pains and danger of childbirth are so well recognised
by the Veddas that a special ceremony is performed by the wilder
Veddas, and a prayer offered for the safety of the young mother
(cf. p. 251). We were assured at Sitala Wanniya that if this
ceremony were omitted the mother and child would die. At
Henebedda it was said that if a woman appeared to be dangerously
ill in childbed, a Sinhalese *katandirala* (devil dancer)
[165] would be called in. Death during childbirth seemed rare, but
a few cases were recorded. Except among those Veddas who
834 have come most under Sinhalese influence connection is not
avoided during pregnancy, or for any considerable period after
childbirth, nor is chastity enforced before hunting or dancing.

[553] Children are usually named within a month of their birth,
the name being decided upon by their parents. At Godatalawa
551 it was said that a child's name would be freely mentioned, but
at Sitala Wanniya and Henebedda we were told that, although
every child was given a name soon after birth, they were never
called or spoken of by their names until they were at least four

or five years old. Before this they were called Tuta (male) and 551
Tuti (female), i.e. "little one," and these expressions may persist
and replace their proper names which in many instances seem
to be forgotten, so that some children appeared to have no name
at all. Small babies may be called Goraka or Gorakki, because
they are reddish in colour, and so resemble the *gorakka*
fruit (*Garcinia cambogia*). Apparently these names are not
applied for more than the first few months after birth. It
was said that the reason the names of young children were 551
avoided was that to mention their names might attract the 776
attention of evilly disposed *yaku* who might make the child ill
or even kill it. We did not ascertain what were the names
of the *yaku* who it was feared might injure the children, but
it must be assumed that these spirits belonged to the third
stratum of the Vedda religion defined on p. 149, and are
either foreign spirits who have been adopted without losing their
dangerous attributes, or the spirits of remote female ancestors
(*kiriamma*) who sometimes steal children.

At Bandaraduwa, where there was much foreign influence, we had an example of the belief in the inadvisability of bringing children too closely in contact with the *yaku*. This is recorded on p. 216.

At Omuni we were told that in the old days there was no 553
fixed time for the naming of a child. The father and mother
give the child its name, usually choosing that of an ancestor,
for there is no harm in speaking or using the name of a dead
relative when the name is given to a child; thus our informant,
the headman of Omuni, calls his second child by the name
of his own dead father, though in his lifetime he would have
addressed his father by his kinship term. Our informant gave
his father's name to his second child, not to his first, because his
father was alive when his first son was born. A woman's name
is generally given to a granddaughter born after her death.
Children are also commonly named after their maternal and
paternal aunts and uncles.

The following lists of the names of males and females 551
were given me by Mr Bibile and Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi;
they were all said to be good Vedda names, and many of

551 them were avowedly the names of dead Veddas, but with the exception of those printed in italics, they are none of them common Vedda names, as tested by their occurrence at the present day.

Names of males: *Poromala*, Sulliya, Karakolaya, *Nila*, Kāuwa, Boda, Mola, Pubbara, Kona, Dinga, *Kaluwa*, Hakkendaya, Hapuwa, Bammuna, Peruma, Gobira. *Badena*, *Kaira*, Kudahanniya, Naga.

Names of females: Bemmini, Tikki, Nagi, Suwadi, Mittu, Viyani, Tandi, *Hendi*, Pinchi, Kalu, *Selli*, Burati, Milalani, Kalumal nangi, Nilmal nangi, Kanni, Kalati, Poiomali, Aemballi[1], Nambadi[1], Uri[1], Kendi, Gobire, *Badani*, Kiri.

In addition to the above the following occur in our notes.

Males: Randu Wanniya, Sita Wanniya, Poromasaka, Handuna, Kanda, Wannaku, Vela, Rata (?), Tiki (?), Hereta (?).

Females: Kandi, Bevini.

Nicknames are common among men, but we did not learn of any instance in which a woman was given one. Nicknames generally refer to physical peculiarities of the individuals to whom they are applied. Poromala, the half of whose face had been torn away by a bear, is usually called *Walaha*, i.e. bear. An old man of Namadewa clan was called Ukusa, because his hair appears ruffled like the feathers of an owl (*kusa*), and Randunu Wanniya, the shaman of the Henebedda community, was nicknamed Uchia from the verb *uchenawa*, to raise up, because after falling down in the shamanistic dances in which he is protagonist he must be raised up by his fellows.

Other nicknames of the immediate ancestors of living Veddas we met were: Mahakata, "big mouth"; Ogapalua, "loud talker," literally, one who yells; Nakakuna, "stinking nose," applied to a man with ozæna; Nemma, "bent"; Kankuna, "sore eyes"; and Kapunkarea, "man who cuts down trees." Although nicknames did not altogether replace their owners' real names, men were often called by them, and the frequency with which certain names such as Poromala and Handuna occur, often made them a real convenience.

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[1] These only mean woman of the Aembala, Namadewa and Uru clans respectively.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Adoption is not practised, for the custom of a near relative looking after children who have lost their parents cannot be called by this name. 597 768

Dances play no part in the domestic life of the Veddas, for, although Veddas may perform a few steps of a dance as a sign of pleasure, their dances are mostly if not entirely ceremonial. 535

# CHAPTER V

## PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

421 ALL Veddas have a keen sense of ownership, and this is equally developed with regard to the hunting land of the group and the possessions of the individual. It was clear that of old the boundaries of the former were accurately known to all the men of the group and were seldom disregarded except in pursuit of a wounded animal, a contingency especially provided for by the Vedda game laws, and many writers have borne testimony to the unwillingness of Veddas to trespass on the territory of another group.

423 609 This was noted by Knox, whose remarks on this subject have already been quoted on p. 7. The next mention of this important feature in the organization of the Veddas is made by the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, Ryklof van Goens (1664—1675), the following account being taken from the Des Sarasin: "The jungle is so divided among the Veddas that every one can easily recognise his boundary...they leave, however, comfortable roads through the interior of their country, for their own purposes as well as for strangers who are obliged to travel from the hills to the plains and vice versa. Don Juan de Costa has told us of such a journey made in the service of Rajah Singha. It was 45 years ago (consequently in 1630) that he descended from the mountains to these Veddah districts. There he was stopped by an archer who was accompanied by others who, armed in a similar manner, stood under the trees. The first enquired his business, whither he intended travelling and what was his mission, whereupon he explained his purpose. He had then to wait there between one and two hours until

word arrived from the elder of the district. Then one of the 423 archers accompanied him to the boundary which took between 609 two and three hours' walking. Here he had once more to wait until word arrived from the elders of this district, whereupon the first guide handed him over to a second and then returned. In this way the second guide brought him to a third, and the process continued until he had had more than twelve guides, being over seven days on the way before he reached the province of Batticaloa and the flat district which extended to the coast, and is inhabited by Tamils. He and his ten or twelve companions [574] never suffered any want on the way, as the Veddahs supplied them with food, consisting of good dried venison which was preserved in honey, ground nuts (probably yams) and fruit. But none of the Veddahs spoke a word with him or his companions because it was so prescribed by their customs[1]."

Nevill's account of the life led by both the wilder and the more sophisticated "forest" Veddas has been quoted on pp. 81 and 82, in the chapter on Family Life. Nevill's experience was chiefly gained among the Veddas of the Bintenne, but if rather less emphasis be laid on the hut built "close to a place where water can be got," and it be realised that even during the hot dry season rock shelters are the common homes of the wilder Veddas to the east of the Badulla-Batticaloa road, all that he says on this subject can be implicitly accepted.

Commenting upon Nevill's account, the Sarasins point out 423 that since trespassing on land belonging to another group leads to fierce quarrels, the condition described by Nevill must be taken to imply that the territory of each group includes the whole or a part of one considerable hill or rock *massif*. Our experience enables us to confirm this suggestion, and it will be shown later that not only are hills the property of particular groups, but that subject to the rights of the group there is also personal property in hills. Text figure 4 is a sketch map of 423 the territory of the Henebedda Veddas, and roughly shows the 361 position of their caves, which are named Bendiyagalge, Pattiavelagalge, [103] Hitibeminigalge, Punchikiriammagalge, Uhapitagalge, Maladeniyagalge and Kirawanbalagalge. The last is almost

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 479.

423 too small and too exposed to be called a shelter, consisting as
361 it does of a small space under an overhanging slab which offers scarcely any protection from the weather, for which reason it seemed that it was never used. Bendiyagalge, situated about the centre of the Henebedda territory, consists of two rock shelters formed by a single mass of rock, broadly speaking, rectangular in shape, with its long axis running roughly from north to south. The rock mass is somewhat tilted so that its southern edge is high above the *talawa* towards which its northern extremity slopes, and the whole rock somewhat resembles an immense wedge. Its eastern face has weathered

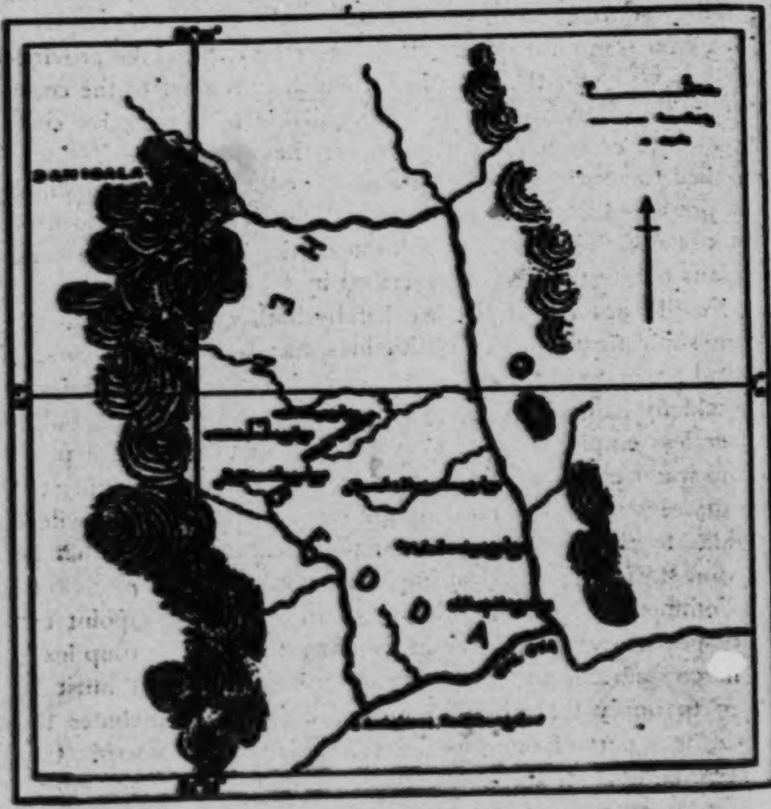

Fig. 4. Plan of the Henebedda territory.

so as to form two rock shelters, each of which has a well-cut drip ledge in no respect differing from those admittedly cut by the Sinhalese about the time that Buddhism was introduced to the island, and the lower cave has in addition two square sockets cut in its roof resembling those discovered by Mr F. Lewis at Nuwaragala and figured by him[1]. Further, there are three steps cut in the solid rock shelters, and other smaller steps and signs of ancient working are to be found in the caves, though there are no inscriptions on the rocks of either of these caves, as there are below the drip ledge of Uhapitagalge.

Pattiavelagalge lies at a distance of rather less than an hour's walk to the S.W. of Bendiyagalge, at the base of the rocky hills forming the boundary of the territory of the Henebedda community. It was said that the name of this cave was derived from *pattia*, a place where cattle were tied, and *vela*, a field, the reason for the name being that about 100 years ago a Sinhalese chief, recognised by the Veddas as being partly of Vedda descent, was allowed to come and live here and pasture his cattle. This man may have been a fugitive during the rebellion of 1818, but this could not be determined with certainty. Hitibeminigalge lies a short distance due west of Bendiyagalge.

Punchikiriammagalge is a small shelter situated almost due south of Bendiyagalge and near the main track across the country. At the present day it is often used by Tamil gall-nut gatherers. Maladeniyagalge, about two miles from Ambilinne rest-house, is also much used by gall-nut collectors. Uhapitagalge, shown in Plate XVII, figure 2, has a well-carved drip ledge, beneath which is the inscription in Brâhmi characters referred to on p. 22.

The natural boundaries of the Henebedda territory as well as the fact that they still have as neighbours the Danigala Veddas, who exercise a jealous supervision of the border on that side on which there is no well-marked natural boundary, made this particularly easy territory to map out. The Sitala Wanniya territory, which we have attempted to delimit in text figure 5 was more difficult and its boundary is only an approximation.

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[1] *Proc. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch*, Vol. xix, 1907.

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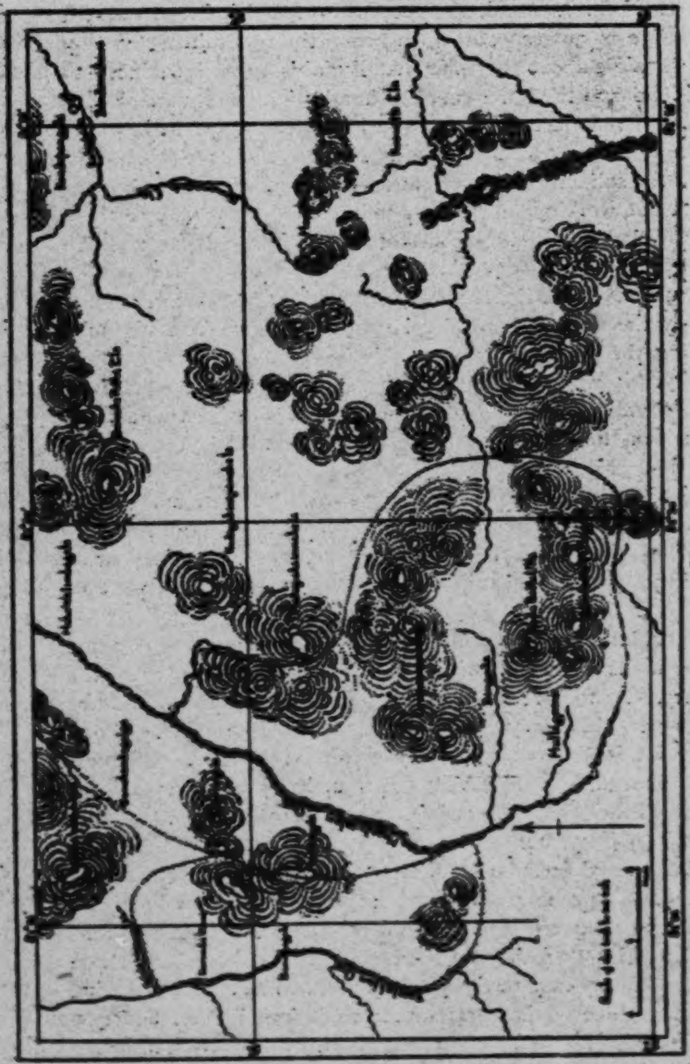

Fig. 5. Plan of Sitala Wanniya territory. All the country to the west of the dotted and broken lines is the property of the Sitala Wanniya community. The land belonging exclusively to Handuna and Nila is outlined |–|–|–, their common boundary line passing through Marinagala and the western portion belonging to Handuna. The land claimed by Kaira is indicated by —··—··, and where the boundary is doubtful by ·······. The country to the east is the property of the Veddas of Kovil Vanamai (Bandaraduwa).

Nevill has pointed out that besides the territory of the group 423
which is common land, every Vedda has "within this...a sub-
division of his own which compares with the manor." In this he
is no doubt right, though it was only at Sitala Wanniya that
we were able to trace even approximately the hunting grounds
belonging to individuals, which are theirs for the whole of their
life, and descend to their heirs unless voluntarily alienated with ✓
the full consent of the group. So well is private ownership in 423
a portion of land belonging to the group recognised in this 224
community, that a man would not hunt even on his brother's
land without the latter's permission; and if game started and
wounded on his own land were killed on another man's domain,
the man on whose territory the animal died would be given a
portion of the flesh, apparently that side of the animal which
touched the ground as the animal lay dead. Among other
Veddas it was said half, or more generally a quarter, of the
animal belonged to the man on whose land it died.

At Sitala Wanniya we not only found particular hills regarded 423
as the property of individuals, but besides the big cave Pihile-
godagalge, which was the property of the whole group of five
families, there were smaller caves which were the property of
the heads of individual families to which no others would have
been welcomed, even had they thought of intruding. An
exception was, however, made in the case of a man's *bana* (son-
in-law), who we were told would naturally come and go as he
pleased.

As has been shown in the chapter on Family Life, presents 425
are often given at marriage, and these may take the form of
personal property or hills or pools. In this section we shall deal
with such transfers of real property, which in normal circum-
stances were made only to children and sons-in-law, and even
then were not made over without the assent of every adult male
member of the group. As this difficult subject does not lend
itself to a general description, we shall limit ourselves to
giving actual instances of land transfer with which we became
acquainted. 425

When Vela of Sitala Wanniya married a woman of Bingoda 431
his father-in-law gave him a piece of land in Marniya *pangua* 583

425 with a hill on it containing a cave called Marniyagalge and a number of *bambara* colonies. He was also given a number of
431 pools in a river in Damanagama[1].

583 Handuna of Godatalawa on his marriage was given a hill with a cave in it called Baisagalagalge. This was handed over to him by his father-in-law and the gift carried with it the sole right to take rock honey on the hill, which was known to be the home of six swarms of *bambara*. Kaira Hudubandar son-in-law of Handuna of Godatalawa received on his first marriage a big pool in the Tota Oya river.

When Kumi the sister of the Vidane of Bandaraduwa married Tissahami, the bride's parents made over to her the hill Rajahela near Wellimbagala, upon which there were about ten *bambara* colonies. Kumi also received Nalli Kotanwala, a stretch or pool—we could not determine which—in the Kalugal Oya. They also gave her husband the hill called Kuda Rasahela upon which six combs of the rock bee were known.

When Badapisi married, her father gave her husband Sinawa a hill called Bala Attahela on which there were known to be eight *bambara* colonies and a pool called Adanewala in the Kalugal Oya.

Tissahami the Vidane of Bandaraduwa received on his marriage the hill Maha Yakini Hela, upon which there were over twenty known *bambara* colonies[2].

[ With regard to these gifts of land we must record that although a man divides his landed property equally between his children in preparation for his death, property given at marriage to a son-in-law is counted as the daughter's share when the time comes for a man to make his final disposition.

428 When the land belonging to a Vedda group was not defined by natural features, such as a stream or hill, a mark representing a man with a drawn bow was cut upon the trunks of trees along the boundary line. It is doubtful whether these marks are

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[1] We believe this was a small stream, and the right to fish in it was not highly valued, partly perhaps because not many fish were caught, but also because Veddas do not often eat fish when they can get other flesh.

[2] The numbers of colonies of rock bees mentioned in these accounts are probably inaccurate, except perhaps in the case of the Bandaraduwa hills, for most Veddas become confused when attempting to count above five or six.

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Plate XXII

Fig. 1. Portion of Pihilegodagalge belonging to Kaira

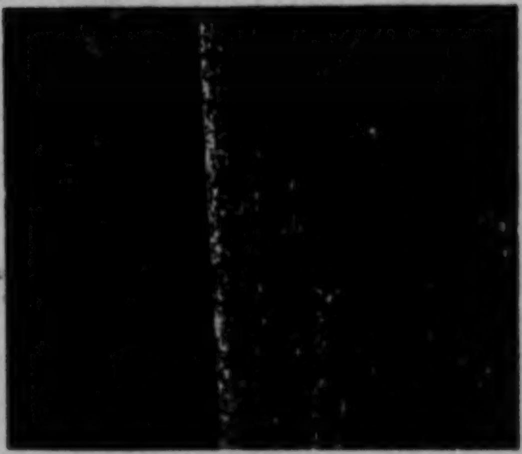

Fig. 2. Boundary mark cut by Handuna of Sitala Wanniya

[facing p. 112]

made at the present day, but Handuna readily cut with his axe 423 the mark shown in Plate XXII, figure 2, and of which a drawing to scale is given in text figure 6.

The sign of transfer of a hill, pool, or piece of land, was a 425 stone; we heard of this from so many independent sources that we have no doubt that this was formerly the universal custom,

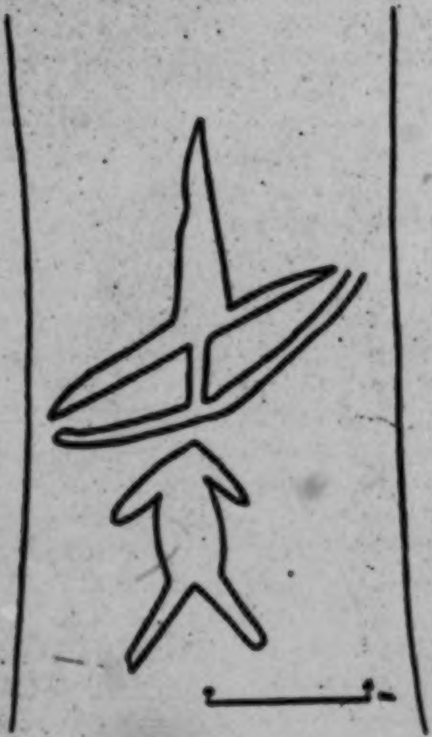

Fig. 6. Boundary mark.

[423]

but it was not until we reached Sitala Wanniya that we found people among whom this sign of land transfer was still in vogue. Here Handuna showed us a stone—a water-worn quartz pebble about the size of a filbert—which he assured us represented the "seisin" of his hunting ground. Besides one or more stones a tooth was commonly given to the new owner by the man handing over the land, but this was not essential, and if the

425 donor had not kept his old teeth as they fell out no attempt was made to find a substitute[1].

It was said that sometimes the donor would add his flint and 425 steel to the stone and tooth; we believe, though we are not 428 certain, that this was only done when land was passed as the result of a death, in which case a lock of hair from the head of the dying man was added to the other objects and became a most important part of the "seisin." The lock of hair would only be cut from the head of the sick or dying man at his own request by the man to whom his land would pass, who would cut the lock with an arrow. It was necessary that the sick man should be conscious and that he should himself give the lock to his heir, to whom he might say, "If there is any dispute after my death show this to whoever gives you trouble." Plate XXIII represents the "seisin" of certain land at Damenegama given by the last Vedda of the group to whom the land in question belonged, to the father of Tissahami the Vedda Arachi referred to on p. 41. The "seisin" here shown consists of a lock of hair, a tooth, a metal strike-a-light and a piece of milky quartz. All these objects were sent for our inspection in an old Kandyan embroidered betel bag in which it was said they were always kept, but we had no opportunity of discussing their significance with the Arachi and thus cannot say whether the quartz stone belongs to the strike-a-light or is an essential part of the "seisin." It was explained that a Vedda would not give land to a Sinhalese under ordinary circumstances, but only when a Vedda is the last of his folk and knows not where to turn for food and shelter. The father of the Arachi only obtained the Damenegama land because the last of the local Veddas was a very old man, so forlorn and feeble that he could no longer provide for himself and his wife. He accordingly made over his land to the father of the Arachi, in return for food and shelter for the rest of his and his wife's days. Probably the fact that the man who took over the land had Vedda blood in his veins and had always associated with the Veddas made the transaction easier.

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[1] Teeth are generally kept. Some of the older Veddas were literally very "long in the tooth"; as the gums recede in old age the teeth loosen and fall out (*pyorrhœa alveolaris*).

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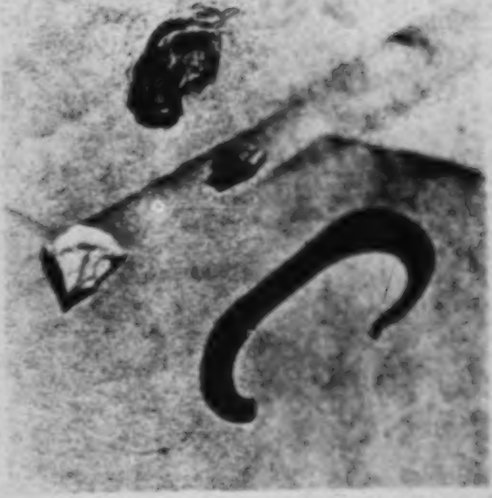
Plate XXIII



Seisin consisting of hair, tooth, quartz fragment, and strike-a-light

[facing p. 114]

The near relations, including sons-in-law of the dying man, would come to him when death was expected, and it was a matter of duty for the sons or other near relatives to send information of a man's dangerous illness to his sons-in-law, and the latter would be justly angry if this information were withheld from them. We were never able to determine whether a son-in-law actually benefited by being present at his father-in-law's death, we believe that his presence was only an act of pious duty, and that he derived no increased right to the dead man's property by this. Certainly the land which came to a man at his marriage from his father-in-law would not be given to anyone else by the latter on his deathbed; we have, however, some reason to think that the unmarried sons of a man's sisters might, as the result of their attendance at their potential father-in-law's death-bed, be given land which otherwise would not have come to them until their marriage, or perhaps not at all. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya thought that a sick man might sometimes give his son-in-law a lock of his hair, but unfortunately it was not possible to discover under what circumstances, if any, this occurred. That land was commonly given to sons and not to sons-in-law by a dying man was clear from the very explicit statement made by Handuna, "My sons will naturally take my stones as evidence of their right to possess my land." With regard to the division of land between a man's children, it was pointed out that most people made their wishes on this point clear during their lifetime and it must always be remembered that no landed property passed without the consent of the grown men of the group. 763 428

It seemed that the borders of each group's territory were so well known to all the members that quarrels concerning land were very rare, trespassing upon another man's domain was almost unknown, though when it did occur it was strongly resented. Knox's account of something very like a pitched battle between two parties of Veddas which has already been quoted on p. 7 shows this, and we were everywhere told that until a few years ago a man trespassing on the territory of others might have been shot without fear of this provoking reprisals. 423 685

423 The care with which the seclusion of the rock-shelter is still maintained probably belongs to a different category of ideas, and is an example of the jealousy with which Vedda women are guarded.

423 627 At Sitala Wanniya we heard of the following method of settling disputes concerning boundaries, though Handuna my informant had never known of any example of a difficulty of this kind arising, and had only heard of the method of settling them from his father and father-in-law. When two Veddas, or groups of Veddas, are not satisfied as to the position of a boundary, the disputants each bring their "seisin" stone to the land over which the quarrel has arisen. Here the stones are placed in pots upon supports of the kind used in the Nae Yaku ceremony at Bandaraduwa (Plate XXXVI, figure 1). When this has been done the disputants invoke certain spiritual agencies, but who these are my informants could not tell me. As a result of this, a wild animal, usually an elephant, would come and destroy the pot set up by the party wrongfully claiming the tract of land.

231 431 Every Vedda has one or two dogs with which he does not readily part, though with characteristic generosity he is ever willing to give away pups to any of his friends or relatives. Vedda dogs are invariably well fed and well treated, and it was clear that the warmest feelings exist between a man and his dogs. As evidence of the importance of dogs in the community we may cite their use as wedding gifts and refer to the process of anointing them with a part of the offering dedicated to the yaku described in Chapter VI. Bailey's account of the relation of Vedda dogs to their masters brings out so much of this feeling that it is quoted here at length. "They have dogs perfectly trained to follow up and pull down the wounded deer. These they value highly; but they are of no distinct breed and do not differ from the ordinary country dogs. But it would appear that at a time when hunting was of more importance to them than it is now, the dog was more valued....

231 425 "But dogs are still prized by the Veddah. Of all his possessions he values most his bow, which is placed under his head when he sleeps; and next in his estimation is the dog who

guards it, sleeping always at his master's head. 'What would 231
you do,' I asked a Veddah once, 'if your bow were stolen?' 435
'No one could steal it,' he replied, 'the dog would not let him.' 'But if anyone killed your dog?' His answer was significant. He clutched his axe, and made a motion as though he would cut down the man who did so.

"And this was no idle threat. In 1849, a Bintenne Veddah 231
deliberately knocked a man's brains out for having, as he 674
believed, killed two of his dogs by magic[1]. He never attempted to deny what he had done. 'It is true,' he said at the coroner's inquest, 'I killed him, and I did so because he had killed, by witchcraft, the two dogs I had reared and hunted for my support[2].'"

The following is a list of the names of dogs and bitches 552
obtained from the Henebedda Veddas:

Dogs. Kapura, Kadiya (*kadi*, black ant), Muranduwa (obstinate), Hudena (white), Pandina (spotty), Dimbula, Boriya, Taniya, Tambula, Senba, Katakaluwa (black mouth), Bahira, Palana, Kambiliya, Komiya (a Sinhalese corruption of "come here," the name of a dog belonging to the Korale of Nilgala).

Bitches. Pandi (spotty), Katakalu (black mouth), Handani (white), Dassi (clever), Dimbile, Makadi (like iron), Bosari, Hudu Valli, Mukulu.

The following list represents the usual property of an elderly 422
Vedda, that is, of one of the influential men of the group, and actually records the property of Poromala (Walaha) the "senior" of the Henebedda Veddas; one axe, bow and arrows, three pots, a deerskin, a "flint and steel" and supply of tinder, a gourd for carrying water, a betel pouch containing betel cutters and some form of vessel or small box, perhaps of metal (e.g. an old brass covered cartridge case), for holding lime. Most Veddas also possess a certain amount of cloth besides that actually in use on their person, and Handuna was no exception to this rule.

Kaira of Henebedda had only two pots, but otherwise the list of his property is identical with that already given. Handuna

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[1] "The murdered man was not a Veddah, but a low-country vagrant; several of whom have of late years, taken up their abode near the Bintenne Veddahs, to their great annoyance."

[2] Bailey, op. cit., pp. 286—287.

422 of Sitala Wanniya had three dogs, an axe, bow and arrow, one pot, betel bag, betel cutters, "flint and steel" and gourd for carrying tinder.

428 It seemed that adult sons inherited most of their fathers' personal property, but certainly the sons-in-law had the right to receive something. We have no doubt that what actually occurs, or until recently occurred, is that the adult children and the sons-in-law talked over and decided who should have each article of property, the whole being fairly shared; or if the sons-in-law were well provided with goods the whole of the dead man's property might go to his sons; thus Poromala (Walaha) told us that when his father died, leaving an axe, a bow and arrows, a deerskin, "flint and steel" and a betel bag with accessories, he took the axe and bow and arrows, leaving the other articles to his brother Handuna. Poromala added that as elder brother the division of the property was his affair. When Poromala dies his property will be divided among his children, and it appeared that his eldest child, his daughter Tuti and her husband, would take the leading part in the distribution of his personal property. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya says that his property will be divided as follows; he has three dogs, each of his two sons and his *bena* will take one of these; his axe and bow and arrows will be divided between his sons; his son-in-law will take his strike-a-light and his wife his betel bag and its appurtenances and probably his pots. Handuna added that his landed property would naturally go to his sons, but pointed out that his *bena* had a right to demand any personal property he cared to have, though *no bena* would behave unfairly or badly to his father-in-law's sons.

At Godatalawa, where Handuna the "senior" of the group had no adult sons, it was said that his dog, axe and bow and arrows would be divided between his sons-in-law; his betel bag and his deerskin would go to his son, a boy of eight or ten, who would also take his rice mortar and divide his father's pots with his *bena*. From these examples, it will be clear that a man's personal property is fairly equally divided between his children, the daughters' shares being often nominally given to their husbands.

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In concluding these remarks on property we may refer to the list given by Rutimeyer (*Globus* 1903) of Vedda objects of personal property in the Basle Museum, these are:

- (i) Bow and ordinary arrows with iron heads of different sizes.
- (ii) Elephant arrows (i.e. ceremonial arrows or *aude*).
- (iii) Simple sharpened wood arrows.
- (iv) Boy's bow with wooden arrows, being an exact facsimile of the iron tipped arrows.
- (v) Axes.
- (vi) Digging sticks.
- (vii) Drill for producing fire.
- (viii) Apron made of the bast of *Antiaris toxicaria* (*riti* bark).
- (ix) Tortoise shell from the Danigala used as a dish.
- (x) Disc of wax from wild bees (trading asset).
- (xi) Ball of bast cord for bow strings.
- (xii) Fire lighting appliances with hollowed areca nut for keeping tinder.
- (xiii) Earthenware pot hanging in a bast net.
- (xiv) Pouch made of squirrel skin.
- (xv) Kilt made of leaves.

To this Rutimeyer would add a *riti* bark bag, the message stick referred to in the anonymous report of 1820, printed by Le Mesurier[1], and clay figures and marbles mentioned by Stevens, in order to have "a rather complete inventory of all utensils of the 'Nature Veddas.'" This list, however, omits dried deer skins and the skin and wooden honey-collecting utensils described in Chapter XI. Further, no mention is made of beads, which are certainly much appreciated by even the wilder Veddas (cf. Chapter XI).

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[1] "The Veddas of Ceylon," by C. J. R. Le Mesurier, *Journal Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch*, Vol. IX, 1886. The statement referred to will be found on p. 347 and runs as follows:—"They are totally unacquainted with letters, but the different tribes hold a rude correspondence with each other with small pieces of wood cut into different shapes. Fugitives used to be furnished with passports of this kind, when they removed from one tribe to another, and the treatment they received depended on the recommendation which the talisman conveyed."

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With regard to the existence of message sticks mentioned in the last paragraph, very careful inquiries were made of Veddas, Sinhalese peasants and Sinhalese headmen, including Mr Bibile, Ratemahatmaya. There seemed no doubt that among the peasant Sinhalese messages were traditionally transmitted by the conveyance of certain objects. We are unable to say whether this system was ever well developed and applied to many of the emergencies of life, but it seemed to be the general impression among our informants that the practice was formerly more common than at present. We were able, however, to hear of two messages habitually sent in this way among the more backward jungle Sinhalese at the present day. The first of these was the transmission of a piece of creeper with one, two or three knots tied in it. This was sent wrapped in a fragment of cloth and was a call to the recipient to come to the sender, the urgency of the latter's need being indicated by the number of knots. We consider the use of this message object thoroughly established as a Sinhalese custom, it was in use in the neighbourhood of Bibile until recently and is still used in remoter jungle districts.

[98] A lock of hair usually cut from the head of the dead man and twisted round a small stick and wrapped in a leaf or fragment of cloth was sent as a sign that a death had occurred. Our impression is that at the present day this is essentially a Sinhalese custom, for the Vedda Arachi of Potuliyadde told us that among the jungle Sinhalese when a man died away from his home, his people might be informed of his death in this way. We could not hear of this custom among the least sophisticated of the Veddas we met, though it was said to exist at Henebedda, where however, if it really occurred, it may have been due to Sinhalese influence. With regard to its existence among the Veddas apart from Sinhalese influence, it seemed to us that the importance of a lock of hair as evidence of land transfer (described on p. 114) renders it unlikely that hair would be sent as evidence of death. The care that the Vedda Arachi of Potuliyadde took when bringing me his "seisin" to photograph, of which a lock of hair was an important part, was very noticeable[1].

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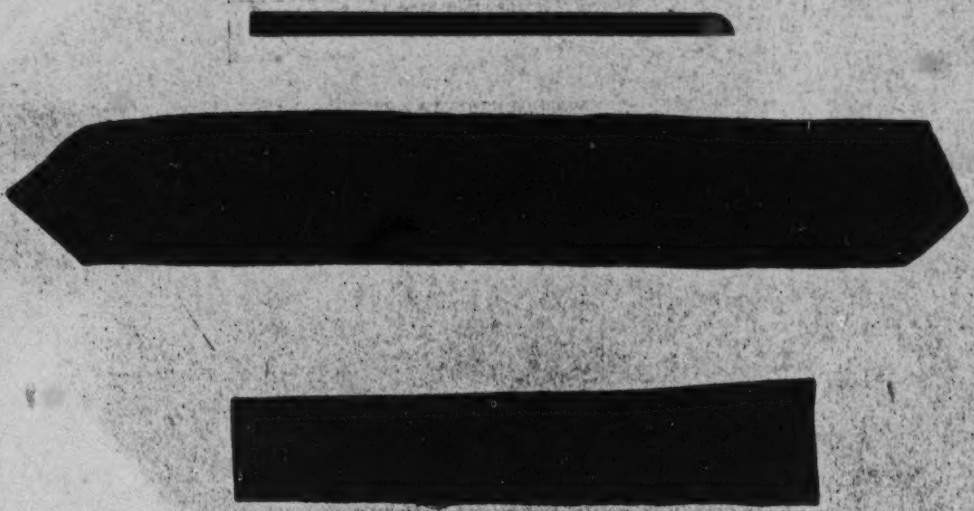
[1] On the other hand the custom may have been derived from the Vedda practice,

Plate XXIV



Messages scratched on a slip of bark and an *ola* leaf

[facing p. 120]

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Turning now to the message sticks, certain conventional signs scratched on leaves or flat slips of wood were at times sent by Sinhalese chiefs to the Veddas as an intimation that they required them to bring venison and honey. These signs always took one form, representing a carrying stick (*pingo*), to each end of which a circular object representing a pot of honey was attached. By the side of the pot of honey there were generally drawn two short vertical lines, immediately beneath which were a number of rather longer horizontal lines. Each pair of horizontal lines represented a joint of venison and the vertical lines immediately above them the cord by which they would be suspended from the *pingo*. As far as we could determine no other form of written message ever passed between the Sinhalese and Veddas, but there is no doubt that although the Sitala Wanniya Veddas knew nothing of such messages the Danigala Veddas recognised their meaning and acted on them. Mr Bibile told us that on one occasion when he had sent this message scratched on an *ola* leaf to the headman of the Danigala Veddas he had received the honey and venison he had asked for in about a week. We were told that on receiving this message a Vedda might say

[539]

*Dik, dik, ewwuwā; kae kuṭṭā*
*Waṭa kuru ewwuwā; paeni muṭṭā*[1]
*Koṭa koṭa ewwuwā; mas kuṭṭā*[2].

Long long (ones I) have sent; cut pingos
Round (ones I) have sent; honey pots
Short short (ones I) have sent; cut meat.

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and represent this modified to suit the convenience of the peasant Sinhalese who, as already mentioned, have much Vedda blood in them.

[1] *Muṭṭa* may be a verb, *muṭṭiya* is a pot.

[2] *Kuṭṭa* appears to be derived from v. *koṭanawā*, to chop or cut; compare colloquial *bīwwā*, "I have drunk," from v. *bonawā* and other instances. We are indebted to Mr Parker for these notes as well as for the transliteration and translation of the message.

# CHAPTER VI

## RELIGION

764 WHEN a man or woman dies from sickness the body is left in the cave or rock-shelter in which death took place. The body is not washed, dressed or ornamented in any way but is generally allowed to lie in the natural supine position and is covered with leaves and branches.

This was formerly the universal custom and still persists among the less sophisticated Veddas, who sometimes in addition place a large stone upon the chest of the dead man. This old custom, for which no reason could be given, is still observed at Sitala Wanniya where the body is still covered with branches and left where death has occurred. As soon as these matters 768 are attended to, and it seemed that they are carried through as quickly as possible after death, the small community leaves the cave or place in which the death has occurred and avoids it for a long time. It was sometimes stated that its members would never return, but we know of at least two cases in which some returned to the cave in which their fathers died after many years, and we have no doubt that this statement means no more than that no one approached the cave for a long time. It was always difficult to obtain even a crude estimate of the lapse of time between events, but there was some reason to believe that in one of the two instances the shelter in which death occurred was untenanted for about twelve years. In any event it is certain that Veddas did return to caves in which a death had occurred, and that if any bones were left, no difficulty was made about picking these up and casting them into the jungle[1].

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[764] [1] This accords with the experience of the Drs Sarasin who say:—"We never found the least difficulty when collecting skeletons of Veddas. They [the Veddas]

[p. 122].

It should be mentioned that no fire was lit near the corpse or 764
water left by it when the living deserted the cave. Among the
majority, including the two wildest groups of Veddas, there is no
avoidance of any of the property of the dead man, and the
contents of his betel bag would be eaten directly after his death,
but among the members of another group of Veddas (Henebedda),
who must be regarded as pure-blooded although their
system of magic shows Sinhalese influence, the betel bag, unless
it were a very good one, would be left with the corpse, and in
any case its contents would not be eaten, but left near the dead
man. The areca nut cutter and lime box, which during life were 768
always carried in the bag, would not be left with the corpse, but
before they were used by the living, measures were taken of
which the avowed design was to render these objects harmless.
Thus the old headman of the Henebedda Veddas exposed his
father's lime box and areca cutters under a bush for a period
which was certainly longer than ten but probably less than
thirty days. It was necessary to do this, since if these objects
had been used immediately, the individuals using them would [753]
probably have contracted the same illness as that from which
the dead man suffered, and on further questioning the old man
explained that the *yaka* producing the illness from which his
father had died would for some time, and in some way which
he could not define, remain connected with the chewing apparatus
which the dead man had used constantly during his last
illness.

At Bandaraduwa we were able to ascertain what was done 764
after the death of a man named Tuta which had occurred in a
neighbouring settlement two days before our arrival. The grave
was dug by two of the man's brothers who carried the body to
it; nothing was buried in the grave, not even the dead man's

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were always ready to show us the place in which...they had buried. When we proceeded to dig up the skeleton they for the most part looked on with interest and without showing the least sign of excitement, and when it was necessary to pick all the small hand and feet bones out of the sandy soil they were perfectly ready to assist. We were always told willingly who was buried in a particular spot. The place of burial was always shown us by the relatives of the deceased...thus in Mudagala near Omuni a father showed us the grave of his daughter and in the Nilgala district a son led us to the grave of his father." *Op. cit.* p. 494.)

betel pouch, although he had lain with it supporting his head during his last illness which was by no means short, but on the contrary it was kept in the house and its contents were immediately used. No water was left on the grave nor was a fire lit, nor could we discover that the two men who carried the body to the grave washed or in any way purified themselves.

Among the village Veddas of Omuni who have much Sinhalese blood, though culturally they appear to owe more to the Tamils of the east coast than to the Sinhalese, it was stated that the betel pouch and its contents would be buried beneath the head of the dead man and a coconut shell of water placed by his side. These people, who settled some seventy years ago, as Tennent records[1], knew only of leaving the body in the cave as a custom practised long ago by their ancestors, and there is no doubt that the adults of the present generation have seen nothing except burial in graves probably conducted in much the same manner as that practised by the surrounding Sinhalese.

The Omuni Veddas mentioned two interesting points with regard to burial. It should not take place in the immediate neighbourhood of any of their scanty and primitive chena cultivations, and the grave should be at least as far from the village as it was possible to hear a "Hoo" cry.

An even more advanced stage of care for the dead has been described by the Sarasins in the case of a "Culture Vedda" whose grave they opened. Unfortunately it is not said in what part of the country this grave was situated, though from the description given it is clear that the burial was recent. "A small structure (*gurusf*) was built over one such grave upon which a coconut leaf was laid, and at each corner of the erection was tied the inflorescence of a coconut palm. At the head of the grave lay three open coconuts and a small heap of wood, at the foot an opened and an untouched coconut. Three cacti were planted on the grave, one at the head, one in the middle and one at the foot. The grave was three or four feet deep....The body which was that of a woman was wrapped in much cloth and had on it a necklace of glass beads...."

The authorities quoted further note that bows, arrows, axes, betel bags and strike-a-lights may all be buried in the graves of male "Culture Veddas," and in one such grave they even found bullets[1]. 764

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[1] *Ceylon*, London 1859, Vol. II, pp. 446 and 447.

When an attempt is made to discover the nature of the noxious influence felt in the place of death, the usual answer given is to the effect that "if we stayed where the death had occurred we should be pelted with stones." Further questions made it clear that in many instances there was no definite idea that some part of the dead man was the active agent in the stone-throwing; on the other hand some Veddas, and these as far as we could judge some of the least contaminated, definitely believed that it was the spirit or *yaka* of the dead man who would cause stones to rain on anybody staying near the corpse. And in this instance it was admittedly fear of the spirit of the dead individual that caused them to hurry from the site of death. Stone-throwing is the usual method by which the *yaku* show their displeasure, using *yaku* in the broadest sense, and by no means limiting this term to the spirits of the recent dead. It was clear that during certain disturbances described as "stone-throwing" no actual rocks or stones were moved or fell, and this was recognised by the Veddas who, however, continued to speak of the upheaval as "stone-throwing," which they ascribed to annoyance felt by the *yaku*. In one instance it was possible to say that the aggrieved *yaku* were not those of the recent dead. While camping within a couple of hundred yards of the Bendiyagalge caves in that part of the Uva jungle known as Henebedda we were startled between eleven and twelve one night by a deep groaning sound of considerable volume which was immediately followed by an outcry from the caves. Men shouted, women and children cried out, and every dog in the settlement howled its loudest. The noise which alarmed the cave occurred only once, and can hardly have lasted for more than ten seconds, but the chatter of people and the howling of dogs must have continued for about a quarter of an hour. We are entirely unable to state the cause of the noise, but suppose that it was due to one rock slipping upon another, or to the splitting of a mass of rock below the surface of the 769 775

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 494.

769 ground, but no freshly exposed rock surfaces or any displacement of the soil was to be seen next morning in the neighbour-775 hood of the caves or the country immediately round them. The Veddas, however, had no doubt as to the cause of the noise and described it as "stone-throwing," stating that a number of *yaku* must have been annoyed with their proceedings on the previous day, when, after going through the *kirikoraha* ceremony over a fine buck which one of them had shot the night before, they were tempted to show us some part of the *kolamaduwa* ceremony without providing the proper gifts for the *yaku* invoked on that occasion. They pointed out that it was the *yaku* of long dead Veddas who had manifested their displeasure by stone-throwing, though they all admitted that no one had seen the stones thrown or could show the stones with which the alleged bombardment had been effected. This, combined with the fact that a minority of Veddas frankly admit that the cause of leaving the site where death has occurred is fear of the *yaku*, seems to point to the whole process of desertion being due to fear of the spirit of the deceased, which for a short but indefinite time seems to be thought of as existing near the body it has left, though it was never possible to discover that this was a clearly formulated belief.

The matter may indeed be said to have been put beyond doubt by a discovery made by Mr Parker. The words *mal pannar unnae* occur in a number of invocations to the Nae Yaku. We could obtain no translation for these words in the field, though it was said that they alluded to the dead man, but by comparing a number of invocations to the Nae Yaku Mr Parker ascertained that *mal* is used as the equivalent of both "flowers" and "Veddas," so that this expression, which is undoubtedly a term of address to the dead man's spirit, is to be translated "driver away of Veddas."

775 Although the fear of the dead (as expressed by leaving the site of death) occurs among all the wilder Veddas, we met with a few old men, notably Poromala (Walaha) of Henebedda, and Handuna of Gedatalawa, who were by no means confident that all men on their death became *yaku*. Although they were sure that all important and influential men, as well as those who

during life had the power of calling and becoming possessed by the *yaku*, became *yaku* after death, they considered that it was by no means certain that any part of quite ordinary individuals survived death. At Godatalawa such doubts in the case of particular dead individuals might be settled by calling upon the deceased at a Nae Yaku ceremony when the following invocation was used: 775 775 769

Lord! New Driver away of Vaeddas, if it is true that there are miracles, killing one wild monitor lizard in the jungle while coming I must meet with a sambar deer. (Be pleased) to drink, Driver away of Vaeddas, this young coconut[1].

If much game was killed after this ceremony the deceased was considered to have become a *yaka* ready and willing to help his friends and relatives.

To ascertain the actual condition of the spirits of the departed for the first few days after death is a matter of some difficulty, for although certain communities have perfectly definite views on this point, others have not; hence it will be convenient to leave this matter for the present and to return to it when the attitude of the Veddas towards their dead has been further defined. 775

As each Vedda community consists of a small number of families who, since cousin marriage prevails, are usually related both by blood and marriage, the *yaku* of the recent dead, called collectively Nae Yaku, are supposed to stand towards the surviving members of the group in the light of friends and relatives, who if well treated will continue to show lovingkindness to their survivors, and only if neglected will show disgust and anger by withdrawing their assistance, or becoming even actively hostile. Hence it is generally considered necessary to present an offering to the newly dead within a week or two of their decease; but this is not invariably the case, for a few Veddas said that they would not hold a Nae Yaku ceremony until they specially required the help of the *yaku* or until misfortune threatened or had overtaken them. 775 769

Among most Veddas the offering must consist of cooked rice and coconut milk, the food that every Vedda esteems above all

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[1] The transliteration of this invocation will be found in Chapter X, p. 177.

775 other, but betel leaves and areca nut are often added and the oldest survivor of a small group of comparatively unsophisticated Veddas seen at Godatalawa stated that in the old days this offering would have consisted of yams and water, if, as was often the case, coconuts and rice—which were only to be secured with difficulty and by barter—could not be obtained.] In each
775 community there is one man called *kapurale* or *dugganawa*, who
769 has the power and knowledge requisite to call the *yaku*, and in
791 the ceremony of presenting the offering called *Nae Yaku Natanawa* (literally the dancing of the *Nae Yaku*), this man calls upon the *yaka* of the recently dead man to come and take the offering. It was stated that *dugganawa* was an older word than *kapurale* and was in fact a Vedda word, though it was soon obvious that only a minority of Veddas knew it. The *dugganawa*[1] who throughout this book will be spoken of as the shaman, becomes possessed by the *yaka* of the dead man who speaks through the mouth of the shaman in hoarse guttural accents, declaring that he approves the offering, that he will assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often stating the direction in which the next hunting party should go.

Each shaman trains his successor, usually taking as his
791 pupil his own son or his sister's son (i.e. his actual or potential son-in-law). Handuna of Sitala Wanniya learnt from his father. At Henebedda we were told that a special hut was built in which the shaman and his pupil slept, and from which women were excluded. It seems probable that this is only done among Veddas who have come under Sinhalese influence, as among them, but not among the wilder Veddas, women are considered unclean, and there was no isolation of the shaman and his pupil at Sitala Wanniya.

Sella Wanniya of Unuwatura Bubula was instructed by his father, and during his apprenticeship he resided with him in a hut into which his mother was not allowed to come.

The pupil learns to repeat the invocations used at the various ceremonies, but no food is offered to the *yaku*. At Sitala Wanniya we were told that the shaman recited the following
[5.39] formula, explaining to the *yaku* that he is teaching his pupil:

(1 See footnote, p. 16.)

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(Ayu bowa. Mama ada sita man golayek hadanawd
Eyin kisi waradak ganda epa.
Mage golayata man kiya denawa me puda topata denda

"May (your) life be long! From to-day I am rearing a scholar of the mind. Do not take any offense at it. I am explaining to my pupil how to give this offering to you."

The yaku understand that although the formulae invoking them are recited they are not really being called, and so the pupil does not become possessed while learning, nor do the yaku hurt him. The puil avoids eating or touching pig or eating fowl in the same way, as the shaman, and Sell of Unuwatura Bubula stated that while learning he avoided rice, coconuts and kurakan, eating especially the flesh of the sambar and monitor lizard.

The shaman exercises complete control over his pupil and, we believe does not usually train more than one disciple. We heard of one instance in which a shaman, considering his pupil unfit, advised him to give up all idea of becoming a shaman. This happened among the Mudigala Veddas, apparently between 20 or 30 years ago. No man, however highly trained, is accounted the official shaman of a community during his teacher's life, although with his teacher's permission he will, when he is proficient, perform ceremonies and become possessed by the yaku.

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At Sitala Wanniya we discovered that a shaman must not cut his hair unless he takes special precautions. One of us was collecting specimens of hair, and on asking Handuna for a lock, was answered affirmatively but told that as he (Handuna) was a shaman a cloth must be held over his head "because of the yaku." As we had used a great deal of cloth, we asked if a piece of newspaper would do: Handuna replied that it would be as good, but he must keep it always to cover his head when he danced. We explained that the paper would probably rot: the said he, "I shall die." He said he did not know why, but he believed this, as his father had told him that even should his son want a lock of his hair (hair is given as "seisin") he must cover his head with a cloth when it was cut, and ever afterwards must cover it when dancing, or else the yaku would kill him. Yet such was his politeness that rather than refuse our request

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he was ready to suffer this inconvenience. Of course under these conditions we did not take a lock of his hair.

His son-in-law Kaira, although he assisted Handuma in dancing, offered no objection to our collecting a sample of his hair, nor did any of the other members of the community.

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Besides the shaman one or more of the near relatives of the dead man may become possessed, but this though common is not invariable. The yaka leaves the shaman soon after he has promised his favour and success in hunting, the shaman often collapsing as the spirit departs and in any case appearing in an exceedingly exhausted state for a few minutes. However, he soon comes round when he and all present, constituting the men, women and children of the group, eat the offering, usually on the spot on which the invocation took place, though this is not absolutely necessary, for on one occasion at Sitala Wanniya when a rain squall threatened, the food was quickly carried to the cave a few hundred yards distant from the dancing ground.

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It was clear that this eating of the food which had been offered to the yaku was an act of communion, and an essential part of the ceremony which was thought to bring health and good fortune, for some communities even anointed the heads of their dogs with the milk of the offering, explaining that this was done because of their value. This was the case at Henebedda, while the patriarch of the Godatalawa Veddas explained that some of the offering was always given to their dogs to eat, for the reason that they depended upon them in hunting. In one Nae Yaku ceremony (Bandaraduwa) the shaman fed the nearest relatives of the dead man immediately after the yaku left him, holding the bowl containing the offering to their mouths, while among the Sitala Wanniya Veddas, not only did the shaman, while still possessed, feed the children of the group from the bowl and smear its contents over their faces, but a number of members of the group, including the grandchildren of the dead man whose yaka possessed the shaman at the time, place a small portion of the offering in the shaman's mouth. The strength of the desire for the companionship and communion with the spirits of the kindly dead was very strong, and it was generally felt that shamans, and those frequently possessed by

the *yaku*, might expect to have especially good luck on account 761 of their close association with the spirits. Many instances occurred which showed how strong was the feeling of good fellowship which the living had for the spirits of their dead. Thus at Sitala Wanniya, on the occasion of the performance of a *Nae Yaku* ceremony got up at our request, Handuna, the shaman and leading man in the small community, volunteered the statement that he and his people were delighted to hold the ceremony, since it was seldom that they were able to offer their *yaku* such food as that provided by us. After his own father had been invoked and had expressed his unqualified pleasure at the good things provided for him, there was some discussion as to further dancing, because the dancer really felt exhausted, but all urged the continuation of the ceremony, since there were other *yaku* who might well be invoked on an occasion when an unusually plenteous supply of food was provided for them. Again, in the ceremony which insured the safe taking of rock honey, it was explained that every male member of the little community must perform the dance, since only thus could they certainly expect to share in the benefits to be reaped from the goodwill of the *yaku*. But perhaps the best example of the feeling of affectionate regard and of kindly good-fellowship existing between the living and the dead is afforded by the end of the invocation on the occasion of the *Nae Yaku* ceremony at Sitala Wanniya, for surely there could be no closer communion between the quick and the dead than that implied in the invocation, which is fully carried into effect by every member of the community sharing in the food that has been offered to the *yaku*.

> "Salutation! Salutation! Part [of our] relatives having called [you] in time (i.e. at the right time) [we] give you white rice. [You] eat [and] drink. Do not think any wrong (i.e. do not form an unfavourable opinion of us). We also eat and drink [the same food]." 531

The above account is an outline of the simplest form of death ceremony such as was described to us at Godatalawa, but usually the matter is complicated by the invocation of certain *yaku* other than the *Nae Yaku*. Many generations ago there lived a Vedda called Kande Wanniya, a mighty hunter, who at his death became Kande Yaka, and under this name is constantly

769 invoked to give success in hunting. With Kande Yaka is also associated the *yaka* of his younger brother Bilindi, who is commonly believed to have been killed by Kande Wanniya in a fit of temper and who according to another version is not the brother but the brother-in-law of Kande Yaka. It is usual to invoke Kande Yaka and also Bilindi Yaka at the beginning of a *Nae Yaku* ceremony, and it was pointed out at different times by a number of our informants that the *Nae Yaku* could not come to the offerings unless accompanied by Kande Yaka, who was even spoken of as bringing the *Nae Yaku* with him. In fact, many Veddas stated that the *Nae Yaku* go to Kande Yaka and become his attendants; this point of view was illustrated by the fact that in two death dances seen (one held for a man who had died seven days previously, the other a rehearsal performed for our benefit), Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked, and possessed the shaman and gave signs of their favour to the group of Veddas present, before the shaman became possessed by the *Nae Yaku*. Further, many of our informants, especially the less sophisticated, pointed out that soon after death the spirit of the deceased resorted to Kande Yaka in order to obtain his permission to accept offerings from their living relatives, and to obtain power from him to assist them in return for their offerings, or to injure them in the event of their bad behaviour. Thus Kande Yaka, who is of especial assistance in hunting, becomes Lord of the Dead. We have, however, little doubt that to the majority of Veddas Kande Yaka is especially the *yaka* who gives success in hunting, and that his relation to the dead does not leap to their minds on the mention of his name as does the idea of his helpfulness in hunting, for Kande Yaka was essentially a friendly and helpful *yaka*, who, unlike many other *yaku* usually beneficent, never sent sickness; in fact, Kande Yaka the spirit scarcely differs as patron of hunters from Kande Wanniya the mighty hunter, still living and showing kindness and helpfulness towards the people among whom he dwelt.

775 It is now possible to consider the condition of the spirit of the deceased for a few days after death, according to those Veddas who state that a definite period elapses before the spirit

becomes a *yaka*, for it appears that properly speaking the word 775 *yaka* should not be applied to the spirit of the dead for the first few days after it has left the body. During this short period the word *prana karaya* (living one) should be used for the spirit of the deceased, for it has not yet attained the condition implied by the term *yaka*. Among the Henebedda Veddas it was thought that the *prana karaya* resorted to Kande Yaka a few days, perhaps three or five, after death, and then obtained permission from him to accept offerings from the living, and thus become numbered among his attendants, the *Nae Yaku*; but beyond a vague idea that the spirit might perhaps exist for a short time at the site where death had occurred, these folk had no knowledge of its state before it reached Kande Yaka. The Bandaraduwa Veddas, who had come more under Sinhalese and Tamil influence, asserted that the spirit of the deceased spent some days in the neighbourhood of the death scene, which it only left to seek the Kataragam God and obtain his permission to become a *yaka* and pass into the train of attendants on Kande Yaka, and so become a *Nae Yaku* capable of accepting offerings from the living and in return helping or injuring them.

The method of invocation of the *yaku* is essentially the same 769 in all Vedda ceremonies; an invocation is sung by the shaman 787 and often by the onlookers, while the shaman slowly dances, 781 usually round the offering that has been prepared for the *yaku*. Sometimes the invocations are quite appropriate and either consist of straightforward appeals to the *yaka* invoked for help, or recite the deeds and prowess of the *yaka* when he too was a man, as when Kande Yaka is addressed as "continuing to go from hill to hill [who] follows up the traces from footprint to footprint of excellent sambar deer." But at other times the charms seem singularly inappropriate; probably in many of these instances they are the remains of old Sinhalese charms that have not only been displaced from their proper position and function, but have been mangled in the process, and have in the course of time become incomprehensible. As the charm is recited over and over again the shaman dances more and more quickly, his voice becomes hoarse and he soon becomes possessed by the *yaka*, and, although he does not lose consciousness and can coordinate

769 his movements, he nevertheless does not retain any clear recollection
of what he says, and only a general idea of the movements
787 he has performed. Although there is doubtless a certain element
791 of humbug about some of the performances, we believe that this
is only intentional among the tamer Veddas accustomed to show
off before visitors, and that among the less sophisticated Veddas
the singing and movements of the dance soon produce a more
or less automatic condition, in which the mind of the shaman,
being dominated by his belief in the reality of the *yaku*, and of
his coming possession, really acts without being in a condition
of complete volitional consciousness. Most sincere practitioners
whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that although
they never entirely lost consciousness, they nearly did so at times,
and that they never fully appreciated what they said when
possessed, while at both the beginning and end of possession
they experienced a sensation of nausea and vertigo and the
ground seemed to rock and sway beneath their feet.

Some men, including Handuna of Sitala Wanniya, whom
787 we consider one of the most trustworthy of our informants, said
791 that they were aware that they shivered and trembled when they
[115] became possessed, and Handuna heard booming noises in his
ears as the spirit left him and full consciousness returned. He
said this usually happened after he had ceased to dance. We
could not hear of any shaman who saw visions while possessed
or experienced any olfactory or visual hallucinations before,
during, or after possession. The Veddas recognise that women
may become possessed, but we only saw one instance of
(alleged) possession in a woman, which occurred at a rehearsal
of a dance got up for our benefit on our first visit to Bendiyagalge,
during which we are confident that none of the dancers were
really possessed. Although we did not see the beginning of
this woman's seizure we have little doubt that there was a large
element of conscious deception in her actions, for when we
became aware of her she was sitting bolt upright with her eyes
shut and the lids quivering, apparently from the muscular effort
of keeping them tightly closed, while opposite her was Tissahami
the Vedda Arachi muttering spells over a coconut shell half full
of water with which he dabbed her eyes and face.

It is not suggested that the conscious element is entirely absent from the Vedda possession dances, it is impossible to believe that such a sudden collapse as that occurring in the Henebedda *kirikoraha* ceremony (p. 223) (when Kande Yaka in the person of the shaman shoots the sambar deer), followed by an almost instantaneous recovery, is entirely non-volitional, and the same holds good for the pig-spearing in the Bambura Yaka ceremony (p. 243) at Sitala Wanniya. We believe that these facts can be fully accounted for by a partial abolition of the will, that is to say, by a dulling of volition far short of complete unconsciousness. The shaman in fact surrenders himself to the dance in the fullest sense, and it is this, combined with a high degree of sub-conscious expectancy, which leads him to enact almost automatically and certainly without careful forethought the traditional parts of the dance in their conventionally correct order. Further, the assistant, who follows every movement of the dancer, prepared to catch him when he falls, may also greatly assist by conscious or unconscious suggestion in the correct performance of these complicated possession dances. Again, we do not think there can be any doubt as to the non-volitional nature of the possession, by the *yaka*, of the bystanders, near relatives of the dead man, which may take place during the *Nae Yaku* ceremony[1]. 787 791

One remarkable fact may be chronicled here, viz. that we have never met a Vedda who had seen the spirit of a dead man, that is to say, no Vedda ever saw a ghost, at least in his waking hours. We have never been able to obtain any corroborative evidence for Bailey's assertion that "the spirits [of the dead] appear to them in dreams and tell them [the Veddas] where to hunt." Veddas certainly dream, but Handuna and his son-in-law Kaira, two most trustworthy informants, said that they did 775 787 828

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[1] There was nothing about the general behaviour of any of the Veddas with whom we came in contact that suggested a specially neurotic or hysterical tendency. The graver stigmata of hysteria such as would warrant a diagnosis of functional disease were always absent and the Veddas, even when ill, were in no sense fuss makers or inclined to magnify their ailments in the way so many Melanesians do. We are indebted to Dr C. S. Myers for the suggestion that possession by the *yaka* can best be explained as an affection (dissociation) of altered personality. If this be so the condition is comparable to a number of well-known cases in the sphere of mental pathology.

987 not often have dreams. Dreams are considered uncanny, and
Handuna said that, although a shaman, he himself feared them.
828 He told us that a man would usually remain quietly in the rock-shelter for a whole day after a dream, and would not leave it to get food, even if staying in the cave meant going hungry. Handuna once dreamt that he had shot a monkey and brought it back to the cave, so he did not go out hunting the next day but stayed in the cave. He said that he had never had dreams that were of themselves of a terrifying nature, such as being attacked by bears or falling over a precipice. He dreamt of his father a few days after his death, but seldom or never since then. In his dream his dead father invited him to come hunting with him, and together they went into the jungle and found some yams and cooked and ate them. Handuna said that he was not afraid "because he was my father; what was there to be afraid of? Nevertheless I stayed in the cave, for I was sorry that day." Handuna told us that children—even small children that cannot talk—may wake up shrieking, but he has never heard of people talking in their sleep.

787 With regard to the causation of dreams there was a real but
775 ill-defined belief connecting the dream-forms of dead relatives with the spirits (*yaku*) of the dead. Discussing this matter in connection with his dream of his dead father, Handuna said, "We think it is through love they come," but he showed that he realised that living people who were not near relatives might be seen in dreams, by volunteering the statement that at our departure he might dream of one of us (C. G. S.) to whom he was speaking.

Although the dream-forms of dead persons were vaguely associated with their *yaku*, it was generally denied that the dead seen in dreams told the living where to hunt, and it must be remembered that the general opinion was that no living person had ever seen a *yaka*, and it was only when specially discussing dreams that it was said that *yaku* were seen in dreams. Nor did the *Nae Yaku* regularly make their presence known in any other way than by possession, though some Veddas translated the minor noises of the jungle into signs of the presence of the *yaku*. These facts also seem to militate against the idea that any

considerable part of Vedda possession is a fraud, deliberately 787
conceived and perpetrated, for knowing, as many Veddas do, 775
of the frequency with which the Sinhalese see "devils" and
"spirits" of all sorts, nothing would appear easier, if fraud were
intended, than for a shaman to assert that he could see the
spirits which every Vedda believes are constantly around him.

Arrows play a considerable part in the Vedda religion, two 778
forms of arrow being used. The first is the ordinary arrow used 411
for shooting game, the second a ceremonial arrow called *aude*
with a blade 8 to 18 inches long, which is usually but not always
hafted into a handle often considerably shorter than the blade[1].
Both forms of arrows are used in the possession dances described
in Chapter IX, but in addition to this the shooting arrow is used
as a protection to infants, being commonly thrust in the ground
by the side of a sleeping child when its mother is forced to leave
it. We heard of this custom in several communities, and at
Sitala Wanniya, where arrows were scarce, were shown a wooden
bladed arrow which was said to be used in this way (figure 7 (*a*));
*aude* might also be made of wood when an iron blade was not
available, and figure 7 (*b*) shows a wooden *aude* made for us at
Henebedda. These facts are important as showing that the
power of the arrow lies in itself and not in its iron blade.

The protective power of the arrow was noted by Nevill, who 411
stated that the Nilgala Veddas "regard the symbol of an arrow, 778
placed by their babe, as efficient protection for it. They leave 854
tiny babes upon the sand for hours together, with no other
guard than an arrow stuck in the ground by their side. Their
belief in the efficacy of this has received no shock. They never
knew such a child to be attacked by wild beasts, pigs, leopards,
jackals, etc. or harmed[2]."

With regard to the long-bladed and short-handled ceremonial 778
arrows, the handles of these are sometimes covered with 411
incisions so roughly executed that they do not form a pattern
and can hardly be decorative even in intention, so that probably
they only serve the useful purpose of preventing the hand from

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[1] These ceremonial arrows are doubtless identical with the large blades described by various authors as formerly used in shooting elephants.

[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 185.

1: Seligmann & Seligmann E-6 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

411
778

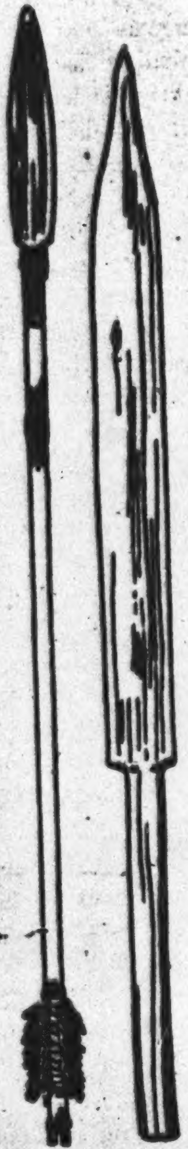

Fig. 7.
Arrow with wooden blade and wooden stalk.

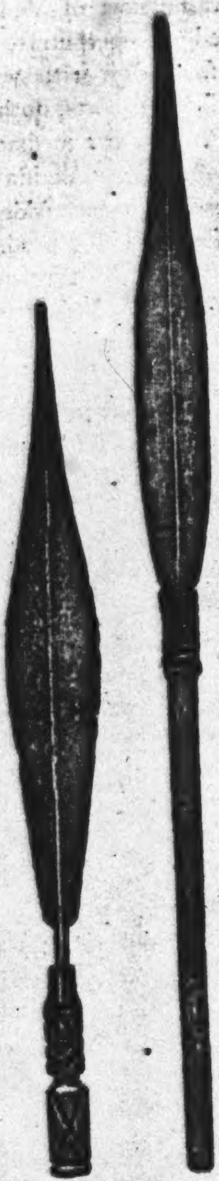

Fig. 8.
Axe. × ⅓.

slipping. Such ceremonial arrows are generally heirlooms, not 411
necessarily passing from father to son but rather being handed 778
down in apostolic succession from shaman to shaman, and [523
among the village Veddas of Bintenne I have handled one such 428]
blade with a history running back for five generations.

Figure 8 shows two ceremonial arrows which we were able to collect. Besides these we saw similar *aude* at Omuni and were told at Sitala Wanniya that Handuna had formerly possessed one. Rutimeyer has figured one of these ceremonial arrows about 14 inches long, obtained from Kaira the "senior" of the Danigala Veddas. These arrows are carefully preserved by the shaman, and just as he himself observes certain dietetic rules, avoiding eating pig and fowl which are supposed to be particularly [783] repulsive to the *yaku*, so among those more sophisticated communities who believe in the periodical uncleanliness of women, special precautions are taken to avoid the possible contamination of the *aude*[1]. This is generally done by keeping them in some comparatively remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch. It is necessary that the shaman should hold one of these arrows in his hand when invoking Kande Yaka; he should also have one for Bilindi Yaka, though as a matter of practice Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were often invoked using the same *aude*, another *aude* being reserved for invoking the *Nae Yaku*. Both arrows were, however, commonly held in the hands during the whole of the *Nae Yaku* ceremony, but in spite of this no confusion seemed to arise nor had the onlookers the least difficulty in saying which *aude* belonged to Kande Yaka whenever they were asked.

The offering of rice in the pot would be stirred with the *aude*, 411
and betel leaves might be ceremonially transfixed with it. Among 778
the Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula the testing of the quality of 782
the food provided for the *yaku* was performed with the help of the *aude*, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka using the *aude* to remove from the pot a few grains of rice which the *yaka* in the person of the shaman several times examined before expressing his approval of the offering provided.

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[1] The belief in the periodical uncleanliness of women has been borrowed from the Sinhalese. It did not exist in the "wildest" group we met with, on the other hand we found it among all the more sophisticated Veddas, attaining a maximum where these had come under foreign influence.

775 Besides the important part in the Vedda cult of the dead played by the propitiation of the *Nae Yaku*, and of the *yaku* of certain other Veddas such as Kande Wanniya who as *yaku* have attained to special importance (approaching that of culture heroes in other forms of belief), there is a certain feeling of reverence for a host of unnamed *yaku*. Little attention is paid to these but, since it is stated that they too were once men, the suggestion may be hazarded that they represent the *yaku* of the forgotten dead. These *yaku*, although all around in the jungle, are in some instances thought of as vaguely attached to special localities, especially to glades in the forest, unusually large trees, and above all large rocks and rocky hilltops. The *yaku* of rocks and hilltops, indeed, tend to become named, taking the name of the hill they inhabit; even among the less civilised Veddas they are sometimes identified with the *yaku* of Vedda headmen who have lived on or near the hills. On the other hand among the more sophisticated Veddas these *yaku* tend to become less and less the spirits of dead Veddas, and finally, under Tamil influence, are thought of as dangerous spirits, immigrants from beyond the Ocean, each of whom with a female of his own species haunts the hilltops and sends disease. Somewhat akin to these *yaku* in their less dangerous forms are the *kiriamma* (literally milk mothers, i.e. grandmothers), the *yaku* of Vedda women, generally the wives of Vedda headmen or chiefs, many of whom are thought of as haunting the sides and tops of hills where there are rocks and springs. They are sometimes jealous of people gathering honey—indeed there is a
[222 tendency to avoid rocky mountain tops on their account—but
769] may be placated by a charm, though occasionally a little honey is left for them with a muttered *kapau kiriammala*—Eat O Kiriamma. Although they retain the fondness for children
[153] which they felt in their lifetime they not infrequently send sickness, at least among the more sophisticated Veddas.

A few *kiriamma* have become rather important *yaku*, notably an old woman of the Unapane clan now known as Unapane Kiriamma, but such *kiriamma* do not appear to be especially associated with rocky or hilly sites.

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782 We are now in a position to discuss the possible evolution of

such specially important *yaku* as Kande Yaka and Bambura 769
Yaka who may without exaggeration be said to have attained 782
the position of heroes. It has been stated on p. 126 that according to certain Veddas not all the dead become *yaku* but only the spirits of specially important men or those who during life have the power of summoning the *yaku* to them. Further, the general impression we gathered was that the stronger the personality of the dead man, the more powerful and important was his *yaka*, and it may well be that the *yaka* of a particularly strong or skilled individual may be remembered by name and continue to receive offerings, even after the death of those near relatives to whom the spirit is one of the most important of the Nae Yaku on account of the blood bond between them. This appears to have happened in the case of Panikkia Yaka invoked at the present day by the Henebedda Veddas, and we shall now attempt to trace the history of this spirit.

It was stated in the first chapter that a number of the Veddas were politically organised in the 16th century and that one of the most important of their chiefs, described in a contemporary manuscript [illegible] Panikki the Vedda, was appointed to the high office of Bandara Mudiyanse. Further, it is recorded that Panikki the Vedda caught elephants and took them to the king. Now at Henebedda at the present day Panikki Yaka is invoked in the Kolomaduwa ceremony to avert sickness alike from man and cattle, and to confer prosperity on villages and cattle-folds. Those Veddas, a minority, who know anything of this *yaka*, state that he is the spirit of a long dead Vedda who was especially skilled in capturing buffalo, and who on account of his great knowledge of jungle craft is still able to confer safety and jungle favour on those invoking him.

In Chapter I we have mentioned that the Vedda cult of the dead has infiltrated the beliefs of the Sinhalese, and we will now give some details of the Bandara cult to which we there alluded. Concerning this Mr Parker writes: "It is a common practice of the Kandian Sinhalese of that part of the country to make offerings to the spirits of the deceased chiefs and important ancestors......

"They are all classed as Yakas by the Sinhalese and are

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generally hurtful; but some have certain protective functions, and protect cattle and coconut trees and crops.

"The offerings are kept up everywhere in that part of the island to the present day at the Dewalas, and elsewhere. Luckily, it is a branch of their religion to which I devoted special attention...and although my lists are doubtless incomplete I have the names of considerably more than 100 of them.

"Some were included in the lists as important ancestors; others, the majority, because of their power, others because of their cruelty, or their sudden violent death.

"Panikki Vaedda occurs among them, and there are a few other names which may be those of Vaeddas,—such as Yapa, Hiti, Hapu etc....

"I have been informed that every one for whom a *dana* or funeral feast is not offered (at which the spirit is supposed to be present) remains in the form of a homeless spirit (*preta*) or *yaka*. These commonly disappear in time and are forgotten. Some of them remain about their old abodes, and uncanny noises heard during the night in the houses are caused by these ghosts, as in Europe....

"The Sinhalese demonology is very intricate, and it is extremely difficult to understand. There are many classes of *yaku*; but I believe that this Bandar worship is the only indigenous portion of it. I have traced practically all the other demons to Southern India, although the *kapurala* claim that a few others, in addition to the Bandaras, are of local origin. They themselves admit that all the rest were imported from India.

"The twelve Vaedi Yaku are, I believe, an entirely different set of evil spirits....

"The Vaeddas told me that they are extremely malignant. Besides these, they said that the whole forest is full of local nameless Yaku, who make strange noises in the night and frighten people in various ways. This also is a firmly rooted Sinhalese belief; their estimate of the number is two millions."

The resemblance between this *Baṇḍara* cult and the Vedda worship of the Nae Yaku is obvious and is still further shown by the canonization as a Bandar of one Godegedara, an influential Ratemahatmaya, first of Wellasse and then of Badulla who died in 1872 and whose spirit now prevents disease among cattle, increases their milk, protects man and animals from beasts of prey, helps hunters and prevents their meeting wild beasts suddenly in the jungle and in fact gives success in all things[1]. About three months after his death certain unusual happenings suggested that one of the dead was trying to attract the attention of the living. An elephant appeared at Damenegama in Uva and in the neighbourhood, and although repeatedly shot at continued to come to the villages and tear the roofs off the houses, but did no other damage. This unusual behaviour led to the suspicion that one of the dead had sent the elephant, and accordingly the turning stone (*paena balanawa*) was consulted as to whether one of the old or recent dead was responsible. When it was ascertained that it was the latter, a ceremony *kamba kanuwa natanawa* was undertaken to discover whose was the spirit. The *kapurale* became possessed, when the spirit within him announced that he, Godegedara, had sent the elephant and that he desired to be honoured and invoked to help men. It was explained that the spirits of the dead always approach the living for the first time through animals, or signify their desire for offerings by making a man sick. The rank of the deceased is roughly estimated by the animal sent, in which, however, the spirit of the deceased is not immanent. The lion is said to be highest, then comes the elephant; the leopard indicates the spirit of a rather less exalted person.

It appears that the dead have no power to interfere in human affairs and take offerings until permission has been obtained from one or more high gods, of whom the chief is the Kataragam God. How the spirit obtains this permission was not clear, but the early signs of the power of the deceased were always in some way connected with the Kataragam God. Thus Godegedera caused the elephant of the Kataragam God to go mad at the *perahera* ceremony, and when Kosgama became a Bandar a leopard sent by him rode round the Kataragam temple on the

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[1] A translation of the invocation used when calling upon Godegedera is given in the addendum to this chapter.

769 back of one of the God's bulls, i.e., one of the *tavalam* bulls, bringing provisions and salt to the temple.

775 Koegama Bandar is associated with Koegama, where he lived in the 18th century or earlier. He refused to pay tribute to the king and from his invocation given elsewhere[1] it may be gathered that he rebelled and was betrayed by an adherent whom he trusted. He was captured, tied to a tree and shot to death with arrows. Koegama Bandar was said to be especially helpful in litigation and in recovering lost cattle, but in fact he is of assistance in all ways.

We may now return to Panikki Yaka, who Mr Parker agrees with us may safely be identified as the spirit of the 16th century "Vedda" chief, Panikki the Vedda. In the same manner as this *yaka* has been remembered and has developed the characters of a Vedda hero, so we believe Kande Yaka and other hero Yaku of the wilder Veddas have arisen, for it is as a mighty Vedda of the old days that the Veddas revere Kande Yaka.

We need only assume that such heroes were unusually successful hunters, stronger personalities than their neighbours, so that their names were held in honour among a people more numerous than their immediate family circle, to see clearly how after their death their names would be continued in memory and their spirits be invoked by those who had admired and feared them, and by their children and children's children. It is entirely in harmony with this view that Kande Yaka should have become the Lord of the Dead, to whom the lesser spirits resort to obtain permission to accept offerings and to aid their still living relatives and former companions.

821 No reverence is paid to the heavenly bodies, and our old Kandyan informant knew nothing of any worship of the sun or moon. He nevertheless agreed that in his youth as at the present day the Veddas would call the moon Hande Deyo or Sande Deyo and the sun Ira Deyo respectively[2].

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[1] "Note on the Bandar Cult of the Kandyan Sinhalese," *Man*, 1909, p. 77.

[2] We found Deyo to be commonly used for "god," the proper word for which is *deviyā*, pl. *deviyō*; but as explained to us by Mr Parker these words are often altered to *deyiyā* and *deyiyo* and the Sinhalese "always say 'Kataragama Deyiya' or 'Deyiyo.' The plural forms are used honorifically with a singular meaning."

## ADDENDUM.

The following translation of the invocation of Godegedara Bandara has been prepared by Mr Parker from a manuscript given me in Ceylon by the Arachi of Potuliyadde. 782 539

### The Song of the God Godegedara.

1. He is a god of a distant country in the Uva region,
Having come to this side in the Wellassa region,
Having raised my joined hands to my head I worship (him) that there may be good luck.
He is coming, I shall say, the God of (this) region.

2. Is not every one staying in (some) place?
Having died in its heart what pulse will ripen?
The God sleeps in the upper heavens.
The God Godegedara is coming.

3. For an endless time being on the watch we utter songs to the God.
Should there be mistakes (in them) in the name of charity (or merit) pardon the mistakes.
Endlessly songs are sung accompanied by beating of the five (kinds of) tom-toms.
The God Godegedara is powerful (enough) even to give a tusk elephant.

4. When it rises the dusk of the moon lights up the round universe and Dambadiva (India).
The God Godegedara appears like an inextinguishable lamp (lit. a lamp with its fire enduring by (divine) orders for many years).
The hair of his head sports in the midst of his back like the play of golden rays acting as his retinue.
Should King Godegedara come to the seat I shall now receive the betel altar (i.e. the offering will be made, and the officiator will then get the betel which has been offered).

"In the last line there is some doubt about the title of Godegedara; either the expression *dera*(*ma*) *devi* means king, that is literally 'god of the earth,' or *dera* has been written by mistake."

# CHAPTER VII

## RELIGION (CONTINUED)

114 WE have now described the fundamental ideas of the Vedda
771 cult of the dead, but superposed upon these there are two other
strata of belief both of which have influenced the religion of
certain groups of Veddas to a greater or less extent. Before
discussing these we may briefly indicate the views of the more
thorough of previous investigators. In this as in other matters
Knox was better informed than many of his successors when
he said of the Veddas, "The *tamer* do build Temples, the wild
only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering
dance round it, both men and women[1]." Tennant's account
adds little to this; Bailey's account, undoubtedly the most
complete and trustworthy that has been given to date, is not
quoted here because it will be found almost in full on pp. 160
and 161 where the religious beliefs of the Nilgala Veddas are
discussed. Tennant writes, "They have no knowledge of a
114 God, nor of a future state...in short, no instinct of worship,
771 except...when sick, they send for devil dancers to drive away
155 the evil spirit, who is believed to inflict the disease. The dance
is executed in front of an offering of something eatable, placed
on a tripod of sticks, the dancer having his head and girdle
decorated with green leaves. At first he shuffles with his feet
to a plaintive air, and by degrees he works himself into a state
of great excitement and action, accompanied by moans and
screams, and during this paroxysm, he professes to be inspired
with instruction for the cure of the patient[2]."

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 63.

[2] Tennant, *op. cit.* pp. 441 and 442.

114 775 764 Even Nevill missed the essentials of the Vedda cult of the dead, though he shows that he knew something of what actually occurred. "The Vaedda religion seems to have been such that the spirit alone was recognised as human, and the flesh, when the spirit has left it, receives neither veneration nor superstitious reverence. Where the life left the body, there the body was left....Two or five days after the death, however, the relations were invited to the scene of funeral and a feast was held...to satisfy relations there had been no foul play....

114 764 "The Vaeddas of Bintenne, however, having assembled relations and neighbours, procure rice, or other grain, and decorate the pot in which it is cooked with sprays of the liniya tree[1], a shrub with leaves like our hazel, but with bright scarlet flowers. If no flowers can be got, bits of red cotton or other cloth should be used. The celebrant then dances round the pot of food, with an arrow in his hand, singing any chant he knows, and making obeisance to the food by a wave of the arrow. The food is then distributed....

"It is evident this custom cannot apply to those who formerly did not eat grain. These, however, were few. Roasted game would probably with such take the place of grain, and the latter seems only used as the best and most unusual food procurable, much as our poor try to provide cake, and not bread and cheese, etc. at weddings....

177 "Bodies were never buried until the English Government endeavoured to enforce burial. The Vaeddas have not the least objection to the corpse being buried, but object greatly to being forced to dig the grave...[2]."

114 769 775 Although the Sarasins underestimated the importance of the Vedda cult of the dead, and failed to discover that even "Nature" Veddas make offerings to the spirits of their departed, their opinions and conclusions are necessarily given at some length on account of the undoubted importance of their work. "The Veddas of Dewilane told us that after death they became spirits or yakas, but as to whether these persisted (*lebten*) or not they never thought; they did not pray to them nor honour them. The 'Nature' Veddas from Danigala...told us in 1885

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[1] *Helicteres isora*, L.

[2] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, p. 179.

that they worshipped neither their ancestors, nor a devil nor
114 a god. Five years later the Veddas settled at Henebedda in
769 the Nilgala district told us that they believed that the dead
775 became spirits or yakas; but they did not make offerings to
them. At Wewatte they likewise believe that the dead become yakas and there they invoke them in cases of sickness...gods they have none. A Vedda from the neighbourhood of Kalodai (Pallegama district) named Manikrala informed us that they worshipped children, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother—in short their dead relatives. In remembrance of the death of such relatives they gave a present to the first Buddhist priest whom they met. We therefore asked this 'Culture' Vedda whether his relatives continued to live as spirits after death, but he replied that he did not know; the present of rice was simply in remembrance of the deceased man. In answer to the further question whether they had a definite religion or worshipped a god, he replied that he had never thought about it, and he gave us the impression that this question and the idea it suggested were new to him.

"We found the idea of the existence of the departed as spirits further developed in an old 'Culture' Vedda of Mudagala near Mahaoya, named Sella. He said they had no gods besides their departed. Every year at the full moon they consumed yams and other food at the burying place. On this occasion they hold a dance in honour of the departed, invoke the dead by name and pray them to help them. At Omuni the corpses were buried in Sinhalese fashion and provided with burial presents; but two Veddas when we questioned them about their religion could tell us nothing on this point, and said that the departed were not honoured as gods[1]."

From these data the Sarasins conclude that "genuine 'Nature' Veddas either lack, or at the most have a quite uncertain idea of the persistence of the souls of the dead at the site of death, and that they make no offerings to their manes[2]." Further, they state "that among 'Culture' Veddas this idea has developed but little, for they either answered that they did not know whether they persisted as souls after death, or that they had never thought the matter over. Nevertheless they honour 114 the names which like the Sinhalese they call Yakas with food, dances or offerings. Any monotheistic idea of God is absent 769 both in 'Nature' and in 'Culture' Veddas[1]." 775

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 497 and 498.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

The three strata of belief to which we referred at the beginning of this chapter and which exist among the Veddas of the 771 present day, have not fused so thoroughly that there is any great difficulty in isolating them. We believe they may be tabulated as follows:

I. The Cult of the dead, including the cult of the spirits [769] of recent ancestors, i.e. of the Nae Yak[illegible] and the *yaku* of certain Veddas who have been long dead and may well be regarded as heroes. The most important of these is Kande Yaka.

II. The Cult of foreign spirits, who have become naturalised 771 and have taken the friendly protective nature of the Vedda *yaku*. 177

III. The Cult of foreign spirits who, though not often regarded as such, have retained their foreign nature and are in the main terrible or even hostile.

Another feature of the last stratum of thought is the endowment of true Vedda *yaku* with foreign attributes[2]. When the history of the island is considered, it is not surprising that the first condition, which may be considered the primitive religion of the Veddas, should nowhere be found standing alone at the present day. It is impossible to say how much the Indian invaders influenced the aboriginal inhabitants of Lanka (Ceylon) when they took possession of the island under Vijeyo about 500 B.C., for the few references made to Veddas in the ancient chronicles of the country throw no light on this subject.

Knox mentions that Veddas paid a tribute of game and 771 honey to the Sinhalese, and in his day there were "wild and 177 tame" Veddas, and it is certain that from the middle ages 648 onwards there was a considerable amount of intercourse between at least the tamer Veddas and the Sinhalese. Therefore it is natural that foreign beliefs should have gradually infiltrated the native Vedda cult.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] The invocation (No. XLI) to Ambilanpoti Kiriamma given on p. 316 is an excellent example of this. Bilindi Yaka is here treated as if he were a Sinhalese or Tamil deity.

To illustrate and prove these propositions we must examine
621 in detail the beliefs of some of the communities in which each
771 stage is respectively dominant. The Veddas met at Godatalawa
and Sitala Wanniya form the best example of the first stage of
belief. In comparing their beliefs it must, however, be remem-
bered that the Godatalawa family have drifted away from their
hunting grounds and are in dire want, and that their oldest
man and leader (now quite infirm though still mentally vigorous)
was never a shaman and consequently could give only the lay
opinion of his group on religious matters. It must then not be
assumed that no spirits beyond the *Nae Yaku*, Kande Yaka,
and Bilindi Yaka were known to the shaman of the Galmeda
community, although the fact that the laymen only knew of
these spirits shows how vastly more important they were than
any other.

The Sitala Wanniya people, on the other hand, were living
in a condition which must have been general from ancient times
up to about 70 years ago. Four of the five families had never
made even rough chena or built bark houses, but lived on game,
honey and yams and wandered about from rock-shelter to rock-
shelter within their territory.

At Godatalawa Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were both
776 known though they were not recognised as brothers, and Kande
782 Yaka was said to be greater than all other *yaku*. They are
the two principal *yaku* invoked in order to obtain game, but
with them there are invoked three other *yaku*, who, it was
stated, are not the spirits of the dead but have existed as *yaku*
from the beginning. These were, however, of little importance,
and our informant, an old man the senior of the group but not
a shaman, did not remember their names. Kande Yaka and
Bilindi Yaka would be invoked in order to obtain game at the
[224] *kirikoraha* ceremony, or simply when dancing round an arrow
struck in the ground. These dances were not in gratitude for
game already killed, but when the hunting had been successful,
pieces of flesh from the neck and chest of the kill were cooked
on the ashes and Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked
to come to this offering which a few minutes later would be
consumed by the Veddas. If part of the meat were not thus

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presented to Kande Yaka the hunters would expect bad luck 782
in future, and might even be bitten by snakes or attacked by bears.

The *Nae Yaku* are the spirits of the dead, they must report 775
themselves to Kande Yaka as the chief of all the *yaku* and from 782
him obtain permission to help the living and accept their offer- 769
ings. Kande Yaka comes to the *Nae Yaku* ceremonies since the spirits of the dead could not be present without him. It was definitely stated that the spirits of the dead did not become *yaku* until the fifth day after death, but my informant knew nothing of the state of the spirits during this period though it was surmised that at least part of the time would be passed in seeking Kande Yaka or in his company, though there was no idea as to where Kande Yaka had his being. It was however stated, that the spirits of the dead were in hills, caves and rocks. The *Nae Yaku* including the spirit of the dead man are invoked on the fifth day after death. An offering is made of coconut milk and rice, if these are obtainable, but if not one consisting of yams and water is substituted. The shaman dances, holding in his hand a big ceremonial arrow for which no special name could be elicited, while the remainder of the community gather round. The shaman invokes the *Nae Yaku* and also Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka. The shaman becomes possessed and is supported lest he fall while the spirit of the deceased promises that yams, honey, and game shall be plentiful. He then sprinkles coconut milk or water from the offering on the relatives of the deceased as a sign of the spirit's favour. One or more of the relatives of the dead man may also become possessed. The shaman gives the relatives water and yams, putting their food into their mouths himself while he is possessed, and it appeared that this might cause the relatives to become possessed. At the end of the ceremony he asks the *Nae Yaku* to depart to where they came from and the spirits leave the offering.

Nothing was known concerning the Kataragam God or the 776
*kolamadua* ceremony, though our informants said that they had 796
heard of other Veddas performing this ceremony. Gale Yaka was not known, nor yet Wanagata Yaka.

At Sitala Wanniya the principal *yaku* are Kande Yaka,
776 Bilindi Yaka, Bambura Yaka and the *Nae Yaku*. According
773 to these people Kande Wanniya killed his younger brother
Bilindi when the latter was only an infant. The story is that their parents were out hunting when Bilindi, feeling hungry, began to cry and would not desist in spite of the endearments lavished upon him by Kande. At last Kande threw the child on the ground in despair and so killed him.

It appeared that as a hunting hero Bambura Yaka is on the
776 whole as important as Kande Yaka, though he is certainly not
looked upon as so benevolent nor so loved as the latter, who helps men to kill deer and never sends sickness. Bambura Yaka is a somewhat grim spirit who although he gives yams and helps men to kill pig, also sends sickness and must be invoked to remove it, and he is also invoked when dogs are lost or taken by leopards. Because of his giving yams he is sometimes known as Ale (yam) Yaka, and yams are offered to him together with other vegetable food when this can be obtained.

The *kirikoraha* ceremony is performed to obtain game, in
224 gratitude for which the head and a portion of the flesh from
776 the breast of every deer killed is cooked as an offering to Kande
782 Yaka and is afterwards eaten by the community. If this were
not done Kande Yaka would be angry and little game would be killed.

The *kirikoraha* seen at Sitala Wanniya is described on pp. 223 to 226, and the ceremony at which Bambura Yaka is invoked on pp. 237 to 245.

775 The spirits of the dead become the *Nae Yaku* and with
Kande Yaka are invoked for success in hunting; a description
782 of this ceremony will be found on pp. 230 to 233. A few days
769 after a death the dead man is invoked for assistance in hunting,
being addressed as *mal paenae wanna*, and when the relatives or the group leave the cave to look for game they repeat the invocation as they move along. After this, if they are successful, they know that the spirit of the dead man has become powerful as a *Nae Yaka* and invoke him at the *kirikoraha* among the *Nae Yaku* called upon. The *Nae Yaku* must obtain permission

to accept offerings from Kande Yaka, and Kande Yaka must 775
be invoked before the *Nae Yaku* to come to the offering, which 782
should consist of coconuts, rice, areca nuts, betel leaves and, 769
when obtainable, bananas.

We consider that the beliefs so far described represent the 776
first stratum or basis of the Vedda religion and to be of its 177
original substance. This is not the case with the remaining portion of the religion of the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya, which relates to certain foreign spirits who have become naturalised Vedda *yaku*. The Rahu Yaku are spirits of this sort. A fire ceremony occurs in the dance by which they are invoked and there is no doubt that these *yaku* are derived from the Sinhalese demon Gini Rahu Bandar. Yet in spite of this they have acquired a Vedda history, being regarded as long dead Veddas quite unconnected with the Rahu Bandar of the Sinhalese. The story concerning them is that long ago three Vedda
brothers occupied a shelter together and one day one of them [773]
returned from hunting to find a stranger in the cave with his wife. The unknown rushed away and made good his escape, but the injured husband made up a big fire and in his rage and despair jumped into it. His *yaka* is one of the Rahu Yaku, the other two being the *yaku* of his two brothers who did not, however, burn themselves to death.

The help of the three Rahu Yaku is asked to cure sickness, to obtain success in hunting, and in collecting rock honey. Hunting and honey collecting both have their true Vedda patrons Kande Yaka and Dola Yaka, therefore the Rahu Yaku
seem superfluous in these capacities. Further evidence as to [441]
their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that they carry "swords" (*kaduwa*), a weapon unknown to Veddas except in incantations[1], and that all three are considered somewhat dangerous, and cause sickness.

Indigollae Yaka, a foreign spirit (whose origin will be considered at length in Chapter VII), is looked upon as an attendant upon Kande Yaka in this community.

The names of certain spirits residing on various hills and 776

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[1] Even these swords, one of which is shown in figure 11 (p. 196), had been naturalised and were said to represent *aude*.

The names of certain spirits residing in various hills and
776 rocks were known; they were said not to be worshipped, although
[753] they were looked upon with awe and respect as they were
believed to cause sickness.

These spirits are the Maha Yakini who are especially associated with the hills Nuwaragala, Walimbagala and a rock called Kalumal Ela. The chief of the Maha Yakini is the Maha Kiriamma, and the other Maha Yakini are her attendants. Although associated with rocks and hill-tops they are not invoked before taking honey in these places. It was stated that the Maha Yakini were formerly living people—old women—and that they were especially fond of children and might even steal them. It is for this reason that infants are protected by an arrow struck in the ground, and it is clear that something of their character as old Vedda women still survives in spite of their generally more or less unfriendly attributes.

Concerning the Maha Kiriamma nothing definite could be learnt: our informant had heard it said that she had been invoked in the old days, but knew nothing of this himself. Handuna said that what little knowledge they had of the Maha Kiriamma had travelled to them from the Bintenne Veddas near Horaborawewa[1].

771 In the Sitala Wanniya community, therefore, the second stratum is well developed and the third is indicated. The second and third strata, though probably not recently introduced, are, however, entirely subsidiary to the primitive cult of the friendly dead.

The Bandaraduwa community is one in which the second
771 stratum is so highly developed that at first sight it appears domi-
769 nant, for after a death offerings are made to the Buddhist priest,
but this is only done as an additional means of propitiation of
the *Nae Yaku* who are still considered of the first importance, to
whom an offering is made on the seventh day after death. Further,
771 Kande Yaka is still closely associated with the *Nae Yaku* and
776 is invoked with them, but he is no longer formally regarded as
777 the Lord of the Dead, that function has been usurped by Kanda
Swami or Skanda known to these Veddas as "the Kataragam

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[1] An invocation to the Maha Kiriamma (No. XXXIII), a fragment of a much longer formula (No. XXXIX), unknown to our informants, is given in Chapter X.

God." He is one of the four gods who protect Ceylon, said 775
to have come from India, and is worshipped chiefly by Tamils, 776
who coming from the north-east frequently pass through the 777
territory of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas on their pilgrimage to the temple of their God in the south of the island.

The following information concerning Kataragam is taken 778
from Mr Herbert White's *Manual of Uva*.

Although the present temple is of brick and of no architectural pretensions it is the lineal descendant of the temple endowed some 2000 years ago by Dutugamunu, King of Mogana, as a thank-offering for assistance in overcoming the Tamil King Elala[1]. But Kataragam was a holy place before this, for the Mahavansa describes how the princes of Kataragam assisted at the planting of the shoots of the sacred Bo tree and how one of the miraculously produced offshoots was planted at Kataragam itself[2].

"The aspect and natural features of the country surrounding the temple of Kataragama are not calculated to make a favourable impression upon the eye when they first meet it. There is nothing in them to attract and invite it. Everything, with the exception of the temple and the river on which it stands, at the village of Kataragama and its vicinity looks wild, dreary and monotonous....

"The population of the village may be estimated at forty, including women and children; but it is liable to fluctuation at different periods of the year, from the influx and efflux of the pilgrims who resort to the temple. And I need scarcely add that the village, its adjacent hills, and the surrounding country, are all temple lands, and their occupants are attached to the temple service as its tenants[3]."

The guardian of the temple and its lands, the latter including a domain of some 60,000 acres, is a Buddhist headman resident at Badulla, and although there are now no Veddas near Kataragam, tradition states that there were formerly many Veddas in

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[1] Kataragam is situated at the south-east of the island, on the left bank of the Menik-ganga, at a distance of more than forty miles north-east of Hambantota and about sixty miles south-east of Badulla.

[2] Mahavansa, Chapter XIX.

[3] *Manual of Uva*, p. 47.

778 the temple forests who in some sense served the temple and were known to the Sinhalese as the Kovil Vanamai Veddas. Concerning these Nevill says: "This name means Vaeddas of the Temple wilds, and they were from time immemorial guards of the Katthiragam temple. Their district was from Kumbukan Ara to the Temple precincts, and north as far as the settled villages of Butala and Maha Vaedda Rata....They are said traditionally to descend from the Vaeddas who found the noble babe Valliamma left in the forest, and reared her as their child[1]." Writing in 1886 Nevill points out that he had himself met the last remnants of these people most of whom were, however, "too reduced by want and disease to retain any memory for old customs."

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773 At the present day the sanctity of Kataragam is reputed to be due to the tradition that the god halted on the highest of its seven hills on his return homeward from the conquest of the Asuras. "The particular spot...where Kataragama first met Valliammal in the guise of a hungry and thirsty *pandaram*, or mendicant, and begged of her to appease his hunger and quench his thirst, when she was watching her *chena* cultivation as the adopted daughter of a Vedda chief, and preparing cakes from a composition of honey and *sami* or milled flour, is pointed out at a distance of more than four miles from the temple. The precise spot again, with footmarks of an elephant on a rock, where she had suddenly encountered the ponderous brute and entreated the *pandaram* to protect her from its attacks, is also shown to the enthusiastic pilgrim[2]."

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177 Now Valliamma was the daughter, or the adopted daughter, of a Vedda, and to this day such Veddas as those of Bandaraduwa who have come under the influence of Hinduism, although acknowledging that the Kataragam God, whom they do not call by any other name, is greater than the *Nae Yaku*, nevertheless hold him in less awe and treat him with less formality than do the Tamils and Sinhalese.

These Veddas know nothing of the other three great gods who protect Ceylon, and they regard Valliamma as a Vedda and speak of her as their elder sister (*akka*), while the Kataragam

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[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 180.

[2] *Manual of Uva*, p. 50.

God is almost, if not quite, thought of as their brother-in-law. 776
In fact the divinity of the God and of his consort has not 177
among the Veddas reached the proportions it has among the Sinhalese and Tamils. It has already been stated that among the Sinhalese the spirits of the dead who desire to become *Bandāras* present themselves to the Kataragam God, and from him obtain permission to receive offerings of cooked food (*adukku*) in return for benefits to be conferred, or to smite men with sickness and other disasters, and we were told that the Kataragam God would not refuse any spirit who approached him with this request[1].

Further, these Veddas hold that the man may become pos- 776
sessed by the Kataragam God in the same way as by the *Nae* 773
*Yaku*, and the god is worshipped at certain shrines in the Kovil Vanamai district which are traditionally associated with Veddas and are said to be of Vedda origin. One of these at a place called Kokkadichchola is said to have arisen as follows.

A Vedda and his wife were cutting the trunk of a tree for honey when the tree began to bleed and they found in it not a bee's nest but an infant. The Vedda became possessed and while this condition lasted the God within him announced that he was the Kataragam God and that a temple must be built to him there. When the Vedda returned to his senses the child could not be found, but in its place was an image of the God.

Returning to the beliefs held by the Bandaraduwa people 775
concerning the *Nae Yaku*, these can be best illustrated and 769
explained by considering the events following the death of a Kovil Vanamai man called Tuta.

The day after our arrival at Bandaraduwa a Vedda called Kaira came to our camp sobbing and shaking and protesting that he could not stay long with us as his brother was dead. He seemed deeply affected, though another brother, Kaurale, who was with him appeared quite calm, which led us to suspect that his uncontrollable agitation was due to something more than mere affection for the dead man, and we soon discovered

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[1] This belief in spirits of the dead obtaining license from the Kataragam God is also held by some rural Sinhalese.

775 769 that this brother had lived with him and died in his hut, and that it was his duty to make an offering to the nearest Buddhist priest and to provide the necessities for a dance to the *Nae Yaku*, and that he had not the wherewithal to do these things. If these duties were neglected the spirit of the dead man would be angry, and after seven days when the spirit had become a *yaka* would cause misfortune and sickness and perhaps kill him. His manifest relief when we offered him the money needed to purchase the offerings showed that his sorrow for the loss of his brother was the least of his troubles, and he was quite gay when he started on his twenty mile walk to the nearest boutique with Rs. 3·50 in his betel pouch, and readily assented to our condition that he must return with his purchases so that the *Nae Yaku* ceremony might be performed near our camp. The local shaman, who was Vidane of the Vedda settlement, was perfectly ready to agree to this, indeed it suited him well, for it saved him the trouble of walking some eight miles to the scene of the death, and as he pointed out, the *Nae Yaku* could be invoked as well in one place as in another. It was important that the *Nae Yaku* dance should be held on the seventh day after death, since it was thought that the spirit of the dead man, which became a *yaka* on the third day after death, resorted to the Kataragam God and on the seventh day obtained authority from him to accept offerings and to help or molest the living according to the way in which he was treated by them. We were assured that whatever the intentions of the relations might be with regard to the spirit of the dead man, no danger was to be apprehended until the seventh day when the *Nae Yaku* ceremony should be performed, though this could not be done unless alms had previously been given to a Buddhist priest. The offerings which must be given to the priest are worth nearly three rupees and consist of the following foods and other objects. The numbers in parentheses after each object show the price in cents at the nearest boutique, some fifteen or twenty miles from Bandaraduwa. Rice 3 measures (60), 2 coconuts (20), 50 balls of jaggery sugar (15), 25 areca nuts (6), 5 tobacco leaves (12), 100 betel leaves (18), 1 plate (30), 1 cup (25), 1 mat (25), 1 handkerchief (36), half a bottle of coconut oil (50), the

total amounting to 2 Rs. 97 cents. The offering made to the 775
*Nae Yaku* cost only 40 cents and consisted of a coconut, 50 betel 769
leaves and a measure of rice.

The actual ceremony at which the spirit of the dead man was invoked and offerings made to it is described in Chapter IX, pp. 233 to 237.

Certain of the invocations used by the Kovil Vanamai Veddas, for instance, in invocation (No. XXXIV) to Indigollae Kiriamma for success in hunting and the invocations sung at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony, especially that to Unapane Kiriamma (No. XXXVIII), show how greatly foreign influence has altered the character of spiritual beings who existed in the original Vedda religion.

The Veddas of Uniche form a community in much the same 771
stage of belief as the Veddas of Bandaraduwa. A few days
after death the spirit of the deceased obtains permission from a 775
"chief" to accept offerings and assist or harm the living. Our informants could not tell us who this chief was, but appeared to think that he had lived in comparatively recent times, and were confident that he was not Kande or Bilindi Yaka.

The *Nae Yaku*, including the spirit of the dead man, are 775
invoked a few, perhaps five, days after a death has taken place. 769
A pot of coconut milk with betel leaves in it is placed upon a rice pounder, and the shaman, holding a ceremonial arrow in each hand, dances round this, invoking the spirits, including that of the dead man. When possessed, the shaman sprinkles some of the coconut milk on the relatives and places betel leaves on their chests; the shaman also feeds the relatives from the bowl of coconut milk. The object of this dance is said to be to enable the *prana karaya* to become a *Nae Yaka*. It is clear that this is simply a condensed account of the ceremony we witnessed at Bandaraduwa, described on pp. 233 to 237.

The conditions prevailing at Henebedda, which at first were 776
most puzzling, were found to be largely due to the influence 775
of Tissahami "the Vedda Arachi," whose strong personality has been already referred to on p. 41. This man had taught the present Henebedda shaman much of his lore, and the latter

776 was but too anxious to assimilate and practise all that the
775 Arachi would teach him. The knowledge he thus acquired spread to the younger members of the tribe, such as Sita Wanniya, who obviously took more interest in the ceremonial observances of his religion than any other of the younger men we met, and it was said that he would probably be the next shaman. The older men, on the other hand, appeared to know little of the developments introduced by the Arachi. To them Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and the *Nae Yaku* were not only the most important spiritual powers, but appeared to be the only ones who were at all well known; the simplicity of the eschatological beliefs of these older men has already been referred to on p. 136 and agrees wonderfully well with those described by Bailey in 1863. "The result of the most patient inquiry is, that the Veddahs have a vague belief in a host of undefined spirits, whose influence is rather for good than evil. ...They believe that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill, in short every feature of nature, has its *genius loci*; but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread....But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their 'nehya yakoon,' kindred spirits. They describe them as 'ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting.' In short in every calamity, in every want they call on them for aid; and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, 'bilindoo yakkoon,' or infant spirits, as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke....

775 "The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as
769 they are simple. The most common is the following: an arrow
539 is fixed upright in the ground, and the Veddah dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm:

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769
[539]

'Mâ miya, mâ miya, mâ deyâ,
Topang koyihetti mittigan yandâh!'

'My departed one, my departed one, my God!
Where art thou wandering?'

The spirit of the dead is here simply called upon; without even the object for which it is invoked being mentioned. And this invocation appears to be used on all occasions, when the intervention of the guardian spirit is required, in sickness, preparatory to hunting, etc.

"Sometimes, in the latter case, a portion of the flesh of the game is promised as a votive offering, in the event of the chase being successful; and they believe that the spirits will appear to them in dreams and tell them where to hunt.

"Sometimes they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river, or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name. 'Come, and partake of this! Give us maintenance as you did when living! Come! wheresoever you may be; on a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come!' and they dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting, the invocation.

"They have no knowledge of a Supreme Being. 'Is he on a rock? On a white ant-hill? On a tree? I never saw a God!' was the only reply I received to repeated questions. They have no idols, offer no sacrifices, and pour no libations. They cannot be said to have any temples, for the few sticks sometimes erected, with a branch thrown over them, are, I imagine, simply to protect their votive offerings[1]." 771

Although in essentials this account is accurate, certain corrections and suggestions must be made. The "bilindoo yakkoon" are not "infant spirits" but obviously represent Bilindi Yaka who became a *yaka* while still a child. The arrow dance is clearly described and agrees with the dance we saw and photographed near Bendiyagalge, figures of which are given in Plate XXVI. 775 114

With regard to the spirits of the dead appearing in dreams and stating where game will be found, this, which is quite contradictory to our experience, has already been referred to on 114

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[1] J. Bailey, *op. cit.* pp. 300—303.

114 p. 135, but it may be noted that Bailey clearly did not know of the existence of shamanistic ceremonies and we have little doubt that the information given him, which he took to refer to dreams, in fact described the experiences of possession. The "few sticks...with a branch thrown over them" are clearly remains of the *maesa* upon which the offerings are placed.

775 The *Maha Yakino* are the spirits of old Vedda women, the chief of whom is the Maha Kiriamma, who, as Bailey pointed out
753 in 1863, is more feared than loved, and in many cases is supposed to send sickness. It was said that her name was Anami and that she lived at Okegala near Alutnuwara, dying of old age; but in spite of these circumstantial details, which are perhaps due to the teachings of Tissahami, neither the name nor the memory of her husband has survived.

775 Unapane Kiriamma is another important *Maha Yakini* who lived near Unapane[1].

Unapane Kiriamma also gives luck in honey getting, and it is thought that she in some way causes bees to build good combs, in fact, all the *Maha Yakino* are associated with rock honey from the belief that they especially affect the rocky crests of hills[2].

Although the *Maha Yakino* are looked upon as the spirits of old Vedda women and are reputed to show their fondness for children by kidnapping them, they are regarded with considerable awe, for they are considered to send disease, and it is necessary to make an offering to them in order that this may be removed. This is generally done at the *kolamadutwa* ceremony described on p. 268. With the exception of the invocation of the *Maha Yakino* at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony the beliefs of the Henebedda people, old and young, as far as we have described them, belong to the true Vedda stratum, but we must now record a number of *yaku* including Panikkia Yaka, who are equally believed in by the peasant Sinhalese of the Vedda country and who, like Panikkia Yaka, are probably all *yaku* of important Veddas who were village Veddas or lived in more or less organized contact with the Sinhalese. These *yaku* are:

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[1] She is known to the jungle Sinhalese of the Vedirata, who state that with her husband Unapane Kaira Wanniya she made the Unapane paddy fields. She is particularly invoked by barren women, and those who have brought forth still-born children, for increase of cattle and milk, to prevent cattle being taken by leopards or damaging the crops and to give good harvests. 842

[2] Offerings of honey made to the *Maha Yakino* are described elsewhere. The belief that the *Maha Yakino* are especially associated with hills is also found among the Sinhalese of the Vedda country, who especially associate these spirits with hills on which springs are found or on which streams arise. One such hill near Nilgala, which at the end of the rains has many small streams running down its face, is known as Yakini Ela and is especially associated by the neighbour[illegible]inhalese with the *Maha Yakino*, who they say can be heard moving about the crest at night. 823

Mawaragala Panikkia, invoked to give good fortune and avert sickness from man and beast.

Rerangala Yaka who lived in the Uva Bintenne and was particularly expert at noosing elephants, though it is not known whether he first practised this art. He died of old age, and is invoked to prevent sickness, particularly epidemic diseases, and to give prosperity in all things.

Lepat Yaka lived at Lepatgala in the Bintenne and was called Lepatgala Wanniya; nothing is known of his life or death. This *yaka* is invoked during epidemics and before hunting to prevent danger from wild animals.

Hantane Mahavedi Unehe who lived on Mawaragala, and of whose life and death nothing is known, is invoked to cure sickness and to give good fortune in hunting.

Walimbagala Yaka, whom the Veddas of Uva call Walimbagala Panikkia, formerly lived on Walimbagala between Bandaraduwa and Madana in the Eastern Province. He was a great and important chief and his spirit is invoked to cure sickness, to send game and to safeguard men taking honey.

Galaridi Bandar lived on Veragodagala near Nilgala. He was an expert at capturing elephants, which he used to present to the Kandyan kings. Galaridi Bandar is reputed to have constructed dagobas and to have brought a range of paddy fields under cultivation.

Kadaelle Nalla Panikkia was so good a huntsman that he could run down deer. It is not known where he lived, he is invoked at the *kolamaduwa* only.

Rangrual Bandar is invoked to prevent men falling when collecting honey, and also at the *kolamaduwa*.

Irugal Bandar is invoked to prevent epidemics and at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony[1].

Sandugal Bandar is invoked before hunting and safeguards men from the attacks of wild animals and snake-bite.

Ranhoti Bandar, a Vedda chief who lived at Hamanawa in Nilgala Chorale. His spirit is a very important *yaka* and not to be invoked carelessly along with others at the *kolamaduwa*, but when properly approached will help his suppliants in many ways.

Gange Bandar was in charge of rivers and also of insect pests. It is said that he belonged to the Morane *waruge*, though his place is not known. He is invoked at the *kolamaduwa*, and when there is not enough rain or too much.

With these *yaku*, all of whom were said to be the spirits of dead Veddas, there were invoked two spirits of whom it was definitely said that they were not Veddas. The first of these was Peradeneya Bandar who lived at Peradeneya near Kandy, where he was *dissava*. He prevents harm from wild beasts, and his protection is invoked during storms and at the *kolamaduwa*. Clearly this *yaka* is the spirit of a man of great local influence, probably comparable to that exerted by Godegedara whose canonisation is recorded on p. 143. The other *yaka* Kalu Bandar is more important and is widely feared throughout the Vedda-Sinhalese zone from Alutnuwara to the Eastern Province. According to the Vedda Arachi he was a native of Mallawa in India[2]. King Vijaya was frightened by a leopard and this man cured him of the sickness produced by fear; he is invoked to procure game and at the *kolamaduwa*.

We must point out that although we give these *yaku* as if a belief in them constituted an organic part of the Henebedda creed, and although the *kolamaduṇwa* ceremony is certainly performed by the Henebedda community, we consider that the belief in many of them is purely formal; we are convinced that a number of these *yaku* are never called upon or even considered except when invoked as part of the routine of the *kolamaduwa* ceremony. Further, we think it probable that a number of these *yaku*, especially Irugal Bandar and the other 775 Bandar, may have been introduced since Bailey's time. It is even possible that Tissahami may be responsible in part.

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[1] Mr Parker informs us that "Irugal Baṇḍāra was a Sinhalese chief who is said to have lived at Baṇḍāra Koswatta (where Knox dwelt) in the reign of King Wijaja Bahu."

[2] Mr Parker suggests that this may be Malwa in the Central Provinces of India or more probably Malawara, Malayalam.

The reference to King Vijaya shows that Kalu Bandar has nothing to do with the primitive beliefs of the Veddas, for no Vedda knew anything of Vijaya or Kuweni.

Before describing the beliefs of the village Veddas, among 775 whom the third stratum of thought is dominant, the condition 776 of the Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula (who have moved there from Mudugala) must be considered and compared with those of both the wilder and the village Veddas. Many of the *yaku* of the less sophisticated communities were known to them, and some invoked by the village Veddas were also called upon at Unuwatura Bubula. Although Kande Yaka was known and considered powerful to send game and cure sickness, apparently he was no longer Lord of the Dead, as he was not invoked at the *alutyakagama* (see p. 260) to which the *Nae Yaku* were called. A structure called a *bulatyahana* was built for him and [346] a Hindu trident as well as an *aude* was held when he was invoked. Biḷindi Yaka was known, but we have no note as to whether he was considered the brother of Kande Yaka or no. Bambura Yaka and his attendants known to the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya and Uniche were unknown here. Pata Yaka (Sitala Wanniya) had been heard of but had never been invoked. The Wanegatha Yaku were of considerable importance here, they were said to be the *yaku* of long dead Veddas who had perished in their rock-shelter owing to a fall of rock. Indigollae Yaka (the attendant of Kande Yaka at Sitala Wanniya) was known here and considered extremely powerful; when really short of food, offerings are made to him and his wife Indigollae Yakini, and the shaman thrusts an *aude* into the roof of his hut and hangs on it a string of beads which are kept specially for this purpose, and then Indigollae Yaka sends game. We were told that no charm or invocation accompanied this action.

We did not realise at the time of our visit that Indigollae Yaka might be another name for Gale Yaka, but this appears not unlikely in view of information furnished by Mr Parker, and the fact that Gale Yaka was here invoked with the *Nae*

775 *Yaku*, while at nearly all the village Vedda communities Indi-
776 gollae Yaka was said to bring the *Nae Yaku*. Certainly Gale Yaka, Indigollae Yaka and Kande Yaka were all known by name, but there seemed much confusion between them all: perhaps Gale Yaka had become Lord of the Dead as he was invoked before the *Nae Yaku* in the same ceremony; Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked at a separate ceremony. No hint was given us that Gale Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were names for the same spirit, but of course this may have been so. The information that Indigollae Yaka was extremely powerful both to bring evil upon man and to help them to get game was, however, volunteered and, as already mentioned, some old, specially valuable beads were kept to be offered to him.

Gale Yaka was also invoked to give success when gathering honey; he appeared to be associated with a certain rock near Mahaella, and we were told that beads were worn during the ceremony.

The Maha Kiriamma was said to be one of the most powerful
753 of the *Maha Yakino*, a class of female spirits who were said to send sickness[1]. Unapane Yakini (Unapane Kiriamma) was another *yakini* of the same class who was thought to live at Omunigala. Here as among many other groups of Veddas the *Maha Yakino* were associated with hill tops, and it was the
782 custom for people collecting the honey of the rock bee to leave
222 a piece of the comb *in situ*, saying, "Eat, O Kiriamma[2]."

When the *Maha Yakino* are invoked to cure sickness a
755 basket is used in which are put a bead necklace and bangles and the leaves of a *na* tree. The shaman becomes possessed and raises the basket above the patient's head and prophesies recovery. The leaves are subsequently thrown away, but the beads and bangles are preserved for the *Yakino*. Presumably this is the origin of the similar or identical use of these objects in the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which, however, appears to be of Sinhalese origin.

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[1] Nothing was ever said to cause us to suspect that she was connected with Gale Yaka or Indigollae Yaka.

[2] Kiriamma is in the plural in the Sinhalese, showing that all the *Maha Yakino* in the neighbourhood were invoked to partake.

Gange Bandar, unknown among the wilder Veddas but worshipped by all village Veddas, was known at Unuwatura Bubula. 776 [184]

## OMUNI.

The history of this settlement dating back to the first half of the last century has been given on pp. 45 and 46. The Omuni folk believe there are spirits (*yaku*) everywhere in the jungle, but none have seen them; further, there are many *yaku* of each kind or species such as the Indigollae Yaku, the Dadayan Yaku and many others including the Gale Yaku called the Jungle Yaku, who do not, however, frequent the jungle around Omuni. It was said that Ganga Bandar Deyo who lives in rocks in the river is greater than any of these. Omuni was one of the first Vedda settlements we visited, and as the importance of Sinhalese and Tamil gods and demons was not then appreciated no questions concerning these were asked. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the Kataragam God and other mighty *devijo* are worshipped. [775] The spirits of the dead (*Nae Yaku*) are believed to be associated with rocks; on the whole they are kindly spirits, but it is necessary to invoke and propitiate them.

A *Nae Yaku* ceremony is held some little time after a death 769 has taken place, at which the shaman dances with an *aude* before a 782 *maesa* on which is placed an offering of cooked yams and other food, and the *maesa* is decorated with special clothes kept for that purpose. The *aude* is held in the smoke arising from gum-resin thrown on glowing charcoal, and then pressed on the head of all the male members of the community. If this were not done little game would be killed.

We have an account of another ceremony performed to cure 755 sickness and when the chena had been reaped, but it is not clear what spirits were invoked at this; presumably the most important of these were certain of the *yaku* other than the *Nae Yaku*, though the *Nae Yaku* may have played a subordinate part. A shed or very rough house is built and hung with special clothes reserved for this purpose, those shown to us being rather old and worn pieces of linen woven at Batticaloa. A roughly made shelf forming a sort of altar is built in the shed on which

755 the offering is placed. The dance is held at night and continues until morning when the whole community eat the offering, though only the men dance. We were shown a pot in a small cave near the settlement which was said to be kept there purposely, and which it was stated was used for boiling rice for the ceremony.

771 We may now consider the religious beliefs of certain com-
177 munities in which the third stratum of belief already alluded to is dominant. Such communities are the village Veddas of Uva Bintenne and those of the Eastern Province and Tamankaduwa, among all of whom the *Nae Yaku* were known and reverenced, but the great Vedda heroes have all disappeared, their place having been taken by numerous Sinhalese gods and demons. Some of the village Veddas even build temples, rough bark or
346 mud huts like their own habitations in which the various symbols of the *deviyo* and *yaku* are kept and in which the shaman dances.

Such a temple was seen at Yakure dedicated to Gange Bandar Deyo, here also were two rough stones leaning against
778 a tree on the *bund* of Yakurewaewa which were held sacred to Gane Deyo (Ganesa).

At a place called Nadena, where there were said to be Veddas until a few years ago, on the road running inland from Patrippu in the Eastern Province, there is a temple containing an image of Ganesa and this is looked upon as a Vedda shrine. Other temples or shrines in the Eastern Province are traditionally associated with Veddas though none survive at the present day, except, we believe, at Portiv near Patrippu and at Mandur.

## VILLAGE VEDDAS OF THE BINTENNE.

775 At Dambani and the neighbouring settlements of Buluga-
115 haladena and Wellampelle the *Nae Yaku* are held to be of great importance. Reference has already been made on p. 50 to the difficulty of working with these village Veddas, and our information concerning the religious beliefs of the Dambani folk was obtained from the Arachi of Belligala; with regard to Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle the little information we possess was obtained at first hand and carefully checked, and

though incomplete we have no doubt of its substantial accuracy 775
as far as it goes. We had considerable doubts as to the reliability 115
of our Dambani information, but these have been removed lately as far as they affect Kande Yaka and the *Nae Yaku* owing to the kindness of Mr Hartshorne who allowed us to look through a number of notes collected among these people thirty years ago. And since the information obtained from the Arachi of Belligala was correct on these points, there seems to be no reason to disbelieve the rest of his information.

According to the Arachi, who, it must be remembered, as 775
stated on p. 49, knows the Dambani folk well, there are three 776
important classes of *yaku*.

The first of these are the *Nae Yaku* who do not go to Kande Yaka but to Indigollae Yaka, who lives on a hill (*kande*) called Indigollae Kande which never has been seen. Indigollae Yaka is first invoked at the *Nae Yaku* ceremony and with him come the *Nae Yaku*. An *aude* is used in calling upon Indigollae Yaka in this ceremony, while the *Nae Yaku* are invoked by means of a cloth and beads; as among other Veddas an offering of food is made.

We could not discover with certainty at Dambani what was 775
the relative importance of the *Nae Yaku* and the two other classes of *yaka*, but at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle our informants made it quite clear that the *yaku* of recent ancestors were the most important. Thus Kuma stated that he considered his father's *yaka* to be the most important of all and that this spirit was invoked alike to send game and in thanks for game killed.

Bandia of Wellampelle said the most important *yaka* he 775
knew was Punchi Badena, his father's father; his mother is dead 782
but her *yaka* is not so important[1]. Punchi Badena is invoked to get game and honey or when people are sick. At all three villages a structure, which from the description given to us resembles an *alutyakagama*, is built for the invocation of the *Nae Yaku*, to whom the customary offerings are made before

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[1] We have no note that the father of Kuma was dead; although we do not remember definitely inquiring about this our impression is that both parents had been dead for some time.

775 being eaten by the community. A man becomes a *yaka* directly
782 he is dead, nothing is buried with him and the contents of his betel pouch are used in the ordinary way. The *Nae Yaku* ceremony is held some days after death, one, or according to another informant two, *aude* being used.

776 At Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle neither Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka was known, and these two *yaku* were also unknown at Dambani where, however, the Belligala Arachi said that Kande Yaka gives luck in hunting. This has been confirmed by Mr Hartshorne's notes, so that although our informants at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle stated that they did not know this *yaka*, too much stress must not be laid upon this.

The other two classes of *yaku* invoked at Dambani are
776 tree and rock *yaku*. Both send sickness and are invoked with
753 dancing and offerings to remove it, the stone magic described on p. 143 being used to determine which *yaka* is responsible for the disease. The most important rock *yaku* are Mawaragala Yaka, Rerangala Yaka, Barutugala Yaka, and Mehaluku Yakini. The latter is associated with a rock Batugala near Alutnuwara, the others with the peaks whose names they bear.

776 Two tree *yaku* were mentioned, each having a number of attendants. These tree *yaku* are named Na Gaha Yaka (Na tree Yaka) and Bo Gaha Yaka (Bo tree Yaka), that is to say they are called after the trees with which they are associated, and the Arachi pointed out that tree *yaku* habitually lived in trees of the species after which they are named. We could not discover any facts suggesting that these tree *yaku* were con-
[624] sidered to represent the life of the tree.

## HORABORAWEWA.

The surroundings and physical characters of the Veddas of
776 Horaborawewa have been described on p. 53. The shaman is
775 the local Sinhalese headman, who stated that the same *yaku* are invoked by Veddas and Sinhalese alike. Seren (Riri) Yaka is the most important *yaka*, Wiloya Yaka and Kalu Yaka are also known, and it was stated that the latter spirit was also called Wangata Yaka. Our informant had not heard of Kande Yaka or Bilindi Yaka, and it was certain that the worshipped *yaku*

were generally associated with rocks and were not the spirits of 776
the dead. There is however an exception, namely, Dehigole 775
Yaka, whose history is as follows. A man from Dehigole, a Vedda, went to Kandy to see the king, probably Sri Vikram Rajah Sinha, the last of the Sinhalese kings, who was dethroned early in the last century. On his way back he was killed by an elephant, and now his spirit looks after the chena and prevents elephants breaking into and destroying the crops. A leafy branch is tied to a pole or dead tree in the chena, and Dehigole Yaka and other spirits are invoked, an offering of sweetmeats, jaggery, coconuts and rice cooked in coconut milk being made and subsequently eaten by the owners of the chena. There was said to be no invocation of the *yaku* of the recent dead, nor before taking honey which is obtained from trees.

## LINDEGALA.

The "Veddas" described on p. 76 from Lindegala in the neighbourhood of Kallodi worship a large number of male and female spirits including the Bo Gaha Yaka and the Na Gaha Yaka[1].

As already indicated the people of Lindegala are Veddas in 411
scarcely more than name. The most important of them, an old 778
man with his son and son-in-law, visited us at Kallodi. The old 173
man who is tall and presented typical Sinhalese features is a renowned *vederala* (medicine-man) and is employed by the Sinhalese for miles round. He brought with him to show us two ceremonial arrows with which he invoked the spirits. One of these arrows is of the shape of a Hindu trident, the other is of the usual Vedda shape and is notable on account of the silver *bo* leaf with which the blade is inlaid. This *aude* is shown in Plate XXV. Both of these had been presented by the Sinhalese king to one of his ancestors, apparently about 100 years ago.

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[1] Although these *yaku* were spoken of in the singular there were many individuals of each species. Some of the other more important *yaku* which were worshipped were named, Wategala Wanniya, Gala Degala Wanniya, Goragala Wanniya, Maldampaha Yaka, Lepat Yaka, Eheregala Yaka, Maharegal Yaka, Kumal Yaka, Walmat Yaka, Hillangala Yaka, Mihmal Naida Yaka, Kahatpongala Yaka, Marangala Yaka, Horang Yaka, Inihangala Wanniya, Malahangala Wanniya, Gara Rajah Wanniya. These were only an insignificant fraction of the total number of *yaku* known to our oldest informant.

411 The story told us was that when this ancestor, who was a Vedda
778 headman and a shaman of great fame, gave up his jungle life
173 and began to cultivate, the Sinhalese king sent him the two *aude* as tokens that he granted the land on which he settled to him and his descendants for ever. It seems that previously to this they had led a more or less unsettled life, or had perhaps been dispossessed of their own territory during the troubles of the period. The arrows were in fact "seisin" and were considered the equivalent of a *sannasa*, the inscribed metal plate or rock face on which grants of land were formerly recorded. Inquiry showed that it was by no means uncommon for a man to be given a ceremonial example of an implement of his trade or profession as a *sannasa*. Thus, in the Kandy Museum there is a beautifully worked Bull's bell (*gonmin-gediya*) given as *sannasa* to Rantun Mudianse of Walala head of the Pattiya or Nilamakkara people by King Narendara Singhe of Kundasale who reigned 1706—1739. We may also refer to a ceremonial weaver's shuttle in the Colombo Museum and to the lacquered arrows described in Chapter XI.

776 The *Nae Yaku*, Kande Yaka, and Wanegata Yaka are con-
775 sidered less important than the tree *yaku* and the host of *yaku* alluded to above. Indigollae Yaka and Rahu Yaka are recognised but not considered very powerful, though it was said that all these were formerly invoked to give success in hunting. The *bolamaduwa* ceremony is known, very many spirits being invoked including Unapane Kiriamma. The *Nae Yaku* become attendants on some of the *yaku* mentioned in the above list and these are invoked first and bring the *Nae Yaku* with them, but it appeared that it was no longer the custom to hold a *Nae Yaku* ceremony within a few days of a death. Among the *Nae Yaku* mentioned was the spirit of the man on whom one of the last Sinhalese kings had bestowed the land of which the inlaid *aude* shown in Plate XXV is the *sannasa*. Another *yaka* greatly venerated is that of Kimbul Otbe, an important individual living a few generations ago concerning whom Nevill has written at some length[1].

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[1] Nevill, who says that he could find no clue to his identity, still regarded Kimbul Otbe as "a great historical personage," for "The Sinhalese of the Eastern Province

Plate XXV

*Aude* with inlaid silver Bo leaf

[facing p.172]

## KALUKALAEBA.

The most important spiritual agencies are the following:— 776
Gange Bandar Deyo, Kataragam Deyo, Indigollae Yaka, Rerang Yaka, Riri Yaka (Sinhalese), Marulu Yaka, Rahu Yaka, and Ella Yaktini.

In spite of the fact that the people of Kalukalaeba keep 776
cattle and are predominantly agriculturalists Gange Bandar 782
Deyo, who lives on the hill Yangala beyond Hemberewa and gives luck in hunting and honey gathering, was said to be especially important. He is invoked when game is scarce, but it is the Kataragam God who gives increase of yams and vegetable food. They do not dance to him but make offerings of cooked brinjal and pumpkins, which are left for half-a-day on a rude altar and then eaten. Chena are also under the protection of the Kataragam God to whom offerings are made after the produce has been reaped, some of every kind of fruit being cooked and exposed in the chena for some hours before it is eaten by the people.

At Kalukalaeba Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and Bambura 775
Yaka were unknown. The spirits of the dead are recognised as 755
the *Nae Yaku*, but they are certainly thought of as far less important than a number of other spiritual beings to be immediately considered. They are however invoked, but it seemed that this was not done habitually immediately after a death, but at quite uncertain intervals to remove sickness. The father of

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and Bintenne, and Nilgala, alike agree that he was a great and powerful prince. They speak of him often, and call him Barangala Kimbul-Herat mudiyanse Rajapat Wanniuncho. From the name Herat it is manifest he headed some great political movement.... Raja-pat probably means king-maker, and the whole title may be translated as 'His Excellency the General Kimbul-Otbe of Barangala, the king-maker Lord-of-the-Marches,' or else the 'King-made Lord-of-the-Marches,' wanni, literally a forest or waste, being used exactly as we use the term 'marches,' of Wales or Scotland. The respect of the Sinhalese, and this elaborate title of highest honour, show that this great Vaedda Chieftain headed an army that replaced one of the Sinhalese kings upon the throne of his ancestors. I think it is more probable he figured in a comparatively modern war than in a very ancient one....It is perfectly likely that Kimbul-Otbe was a prince of the Sinhala royal family, who married a Vaedda....

"The supposition that Kimbul-Otbe was a Sinhala, and that he married either a Bandara or an Unapana lady, would then account for the otherwise unexplained fact that the Sinhalese say some of their oldest and best families also descended from Kimbul-Otbe, though they did not know whether he was really a Vaedda or was claimed by the Vaeddas in mistake, having been their prince." *Op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 176.

775 the present shaman was called Suwanda, and no dance to his
755 spirit was held till a long time, perhaps as much as a year, after his decease. But when the shaman's mother became ill he was invoked and offerings were made, with the result that the patient got well. In connection with this it was explained that it was not
775 unusual for the *Nae Yaku* to make even their nearest and dearest
753 relatives ill for the sake of the offerings they would then receive.

It was stated that the *Nae Yaku* are not allowed to kill people but only to make them ill, permission to do this and to accept offerings being obtained from Kataragam Deyo, Saman Deyo, and Numeriya Deyo. We could not ascertain with
775 certainty whether the *Nae Yaku* have anything to do with sending luck in hunting, but if they are concerned in this they clearly play quite a subordinate part. When taking honey a little is left at the foot of the tree, this was said to be for the
[712] *Nae Yaku*, who may be called to it by some such expression as "here is honey, be pleased to eat[1]."

A female spirit Elle Yakini is invoked when a woman is
[843] pregnant, to protect mother and child; beads which belong to the shaman, who seems to keep them for this purpose, are placed on a piece of cloth and invocations are spoken. After
[844] childbirth a bower apparently resembling the *kolamaduwa* is made, Elle Yakini is invoked and an offering of food made to her. At the time of our visit it was said that a dance would shortly be held to Elle Yakini in thanks for having given a woman, who at first had difficulty in nursing her child, an abundant flow of milk. Elle Yakini will be invoked with an ordinary hunting arrow, and when possessed by her the shaman will gasp out some such formula as this "Now I have made you well, remember me in future." Offerings would not be made to Elle Yakini until her help was again needed.

## ELAKOTALIYA.

776 The most important spiritual agencies are the gods and demons who are worshipped at Kalukalaeba. Indigollae Yaka is said to give good luck to hunters, for neither Kande Yaka,

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[1] The geographical position of Kalukalaeba allows the Veddas of this group no opportunity of collecting rock honey.

Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka is known. The *Nae Yaku* 776
are of the company of Indigollae Yaka, and with the latter are [775]
invoked after a death, but the *Nae Yaku* are not asked for good
luck in hunting. The *Nae Yaku* are invoked after every death ;
coconut, jaggery (palm sugar), and rice are placed on a *maesa*, [782
offered to the *yaku* and afterwards eaten by the shaman and 769]
other members of the community. While invoking the spirits
the shaman holds a cloth in his hands but no *aude*.

## ULPOTA.

The Kataragam God, Gane Deyo and Vihara Deyo, are worshipped, as probably are many others. These spirits are all considered more important than the *Nae Yaku*, and it is to their aid that success in hunting and in honey getting is largely attributed, nevertheless it was clear that the *Nae Yaku* were thought of as helpful in these activities. Our informant stated that they had never heard of Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, or Bambura Yaka, nor had they heard of the gods of the coast Veddas Kapalpe or Kadupe.

The spirits of the dead become *Nae Yaku*, and it is customary 769
for a ceremony to be held eight days after a death, at which the 775
spirits of all the recent dead are invoked. It was said that these
spirits of the deceased joined the other *Nae Yaku* without asking 782
permission from any other spiritual being and that the *Nae Yaku* came when they were invoked unaccompanied by any other spirit. The shaman does not hold an *aude* in his hand when invoking the *Nae Yaku*, but some rice and cooked pumpkin are put upon a *maesa* before which he dances. At the side of this is a pot of rice covered with a cloth supported on a rice pounder. The shaman faces the east whilst dancing, and appeals to all remembered *Nae Yaku* by name. It was said to be rare for any but the shaman to become possessed.

The *Nae Yaku* give honey and luck in hunting, and it is in order to obtain their favour that they are invoked, for if they were not they would give bad luck. When collecting tree honey the name of a dead man is called and he is requested to accept a little honey which is left at the foot of the tree for a short time, after which it is eaten by the honey gatherers. After killing game

769 a piece of flesh is offered to the *Nae Yaku* who are called by
775 name, and then the Veddas eat it themselves.

782 Vihara Deyo is considered to send sickness, and he is invoked
to make men whole again. Rice is cooked with milk usually
776 obtained from the Tamil village of Horawila, and this with betel
753 and areca nut is put upon a *maesa*. Only the shaman dances,
755 and after the ceremony the offering is eaten by the whole community, including the sick man. Our informant did not know
how the *yaku* or *deyo* causing the sickness was discovered, tha
being left to the shaman.

## YAKURE.

776 The important spiritual agencies are:—Gange Banda
775 Deyo, Genikandia Deyo, Palugamman Deyo, Vihara Deyo
Mangara Deyo. Our informants knew of Indigollae Yak
but did not know if he ever was a man or had always bee
a spirit. Nothing was known of Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, o
Bambura Yaka. Dead shamans are thought to become *yak*
and it is the spirits of these people who are the *Nae Yaku*: th
fate of the spirits of ordinary folk is uncertain, but they do no
become *Nae Yaku*. The *Nae Yaku* are danced to and invoke
755 with the other *yaku* in order to cure sickness, but apparentl
775 they are not considered particularly important. A *maesa* i
made and a cloth put over it, and on it are laid flowers of man
kinds, betel leaves and areca nuts. Incense is burned befo
these offerings, in front of which the shaman dances facing th
east. In some instances the *maesa* is built inside the temple, th
shaman holds a cloth in his hand and a pot of rice cooke
in milk is placed by the *maesa* on a rice pounder[1]. This is no
tasted during the dance, but is eaten afterwards by the shama
and the sick man and other individuals of the community[2].

776 Kataragam Deyo is invoked especially to protect the chen
782 and at harvest an offering is made which is afterwards eaten a
at Elakotaliya.

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[1] It must be remembered that Yakure is a great cattle breeding centre.

[2] This is an interesting contrast to the practice which Mr Parker informs us preva
in the south of the island, where food given to spirits is not eaten at all but is expe
in the jungle or some deserted place. The fact that at Yakure food offered to spiri
many of whom are of Sinhalese or Tamil origin, is eaten, is clearly a remnant of t
Vedda belief that the spirits invoked are in the main beneficent.

Mangara Deyo is invoked to protect cattle. About a month 776
before our visit a nephew of the shaman suffered from headache 755
and fever and woke up in the middle of the night in a great
state of alarm. It was ascertained by stone augury that Mangara
Deyo had sent the sickness, offerings were made to him, and the
youngster speedily recovered.

There are no dances at a man's death or invocations to the 231
spirits of the dead, nor did there appear to be any particular 776
spirit who gave luck in hunting, indeed it seemed that game was 769
little sought, the whole activity of the community being concentrated on cattle breeding.

The temple of Mangara Deyo is a small bare hut, with the 778
roof projecting a few feet beyond that wall in which the door is 346
cut. The inside of the temple is quite bare except for a narrow
wooden rack about a foot wide which runs round the two side and
back walls at a height of about four feet from the ground. In
one corner of this was a pile of *aude* of all shapes and sizes which
were said to belong to Mangara Deyo.

### ROTAWAEWA.

Mr G. W. Jayawardene writes as follows concerning the 776
beliefs of the Tamankaduwa "Veddas" described on p. 56. 753
"They regard Adukganna Hulawali Yaka and Vedi Yaka
as the important *yaku*. Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the
spirit to whom they look to be cured of sickness. When any
one is ill he or she or someone on their behalf puts aside
one or two cents which are wrapped in a clean piece of cloth 776
and from each house an offering of food is made. Vedi Yaka is 224
the spirit they look to for help in getting game. When an
animal is killed the heart is taken and roasted and offered on
a stick with the end split into four to hold the heart under
a tree." Commenting on this Mr B. Horsburgh writes, "Aduk- 776
ganna Hulawali Yaka is the spirit of a Vedda who was killed by 775
King Mahasena for refusing to leave Minneriya tank when he 787
was going to restore it. The name Adukganna Hulawaliyaka
means Hulawali Yaka who takes the *adukkuwa* or present of
food (from the offering made to him). He is only seen in dreams,

776 775 787 when he takes the shape of a well made young man dressed in white and with a white stick in his hand. Vedi Yaka also appears only in dreams, as a black man in a cloth with nothing else particular about him[1]."

## THE AVOIDANCE OF CERTAIN FOODS.

262 It must be assumed that the following prohibitions are of a religious or of a magico-religious nature, and for this reason they are included in the present chapter. They do not appear to be connected with totemism, yet we do not feel confident that they are derived from Hinduism, as is suggested by the Sarasins[2]. In this doubt we have the support of Mr Parker who writes: "This prohibition appears to have no connection with Hinduism, or the common Brown Monkey, *Rilawā* (*Macacus pileatus*), would be included, and also the Rat, as the vāhana of Ganēsa, and the Turtle as representative of Vishnu; or some of these[3]."

Bailey writes, "The Veddahs eat the flesh of elk, deer, monkeys, pigs, the iguana, and pengolin—all flesh indeed, but that of oxen, elephants, leopards, and jackals; and all birds, except the wild or domestic fowl. They will not touch lizards, bats, or snakes.

"They can assign no reason for their abstinence from the flesh of these beasts and birds which I have enumerated, but their objection to beef and fowls, though quite unexplained, is decidedly the most marked, so much so that during my inquiries I found that they spontaneously expressed their antipathy, though it required cross examination to elicit the fact that they also avoid the other kinds of flesh[4]."

We are able to confirm Bailey's statement as far as it concerns the flesh of mammals, with the reservation that most Veddas do not eat porcupine. With regard to birds, the Veddas of Henebedda said they would not eat fowls or eagles. The majority of Veddas, including even the degenerate Veddas of the coast, avoid eating fowl, though many of the settled village Veddas keep them for sale or for the sake of their eggs, and is

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[1] Both the passages quoted are from a report by Mr Horsburgh to the Colonial Secretary.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 415.

[3] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 191.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 287 and 288.

many places the flesh of the jungle cock is avoided as well as 262
that of the domesticated bird. Many Veddas when questioned about fowl said, that though they did not eat it themselves other Veddas would, and some alleged that the reason for their abstinence was that fowls eat dirt. The lay members of the Sitala Wanniya community had no objection to eating fowl, though Handuna avoided it because he was a shaman.

Further, those Veddas who eat fowl, avoid eating it when 262
about to take part in a dance. When discussing this matter at 787
Sitala Wanniya, Vela, who was not a shaman, was about to take part in the Dola Yaka ceremony described in Chapter IX, and it was then explained that this day he must avoid fowl, though at other times it would not matter if he were to eat it or not. The reason was not clear, while one man said that it was because the *yaku* did not like fowl, and so would not readily enter him after he had eaten it, another said that should a man become possessed after eating fowl it might be difficult to regain consciousness. It is equally necessary for shamans to avoid eating pig, though the reason for this was more definitely stated, namely, that the *yaku* disliked this animal.

Although shamans will not eat pig, they have no scruples 262
with regard to killing it, but they must not touch it or cut it up. 791
If they were to neglect this observance they would be ill and shiver for four or five days afterwards, even when seated comfortably in the cave. The arrow with which a pig had been killed must be cleaned by a man who is not a shaman, and may then be used again by the shaman. The shaman of the sophisticated Veddas said that he would eat only rice, coconut milk, salt, bananas and cow's milk for some days before invoking the *yaku*, and this man insisted on having a daily ration of rice for several days before the *Nae Yaku* ceremony held after the death of Tuta. But as all these foods are foreign to the wilder Veddas and must be obtained by trade, these abstinences have assuredly been introduced, and certainly no custom of this sort is observed at Sitala Wanniya or even at Henebedda.

The suggestion that these prohibitions have been taken over 262
from Hinduism will not explain the equally strong objection to

262 fowls of the majority of Veddas, or the abstinence from the flesh of fowls of the shaman in communities, the lay members of which eat fowl except before dancing. Nor does it explain the similar abstinence from pig which Mr Parker suggests may be due to the unclean nature of its food, for it is "an eater of dead bodies which might be those of human beings[1]." Further, the abstinence from the flesh of elephants, leopards and bears is hardly to be explained as due to foreign influence; we believe that these animals are not eaten because they are, and always have been, difficult to hunt by a people as poorly armed as the Veddas, who were not driven to attempt to kill them on account of the scarcity of game. There was in fact no necessity to attempt to kill them, for deer were easier to hunt and more pleasant to eat; so the Veddas gave them a wide berth and their flesh was not regarded as food, and if come by accidentally, as when a dead elephant was found in the jungle, its flesh was not eaten because it was new and strange[2].

In the same way the flesh of buffalo was not eaten, for buffalo are perhaps the most dangerous of all Indian animals to hunt, and as for the flesh of the domestic cattle, it is obvious that no Veddas except those who kept cattle or were village Veddas could have had the chance of eating this meat. Once this stage of sophistication had been reached, abstinence from the flesh of cattle might easily be dictated by contact with Hinduism, but hardly before. It is of course questionable how far the avoidance of strange food because it is strange and has not been eaten before in the community is a matter of religion, but we have thought it best to discuss the matter in this place because of the view which connects these observances with Hinduism.

## ADDENDUM.

177 Since our return to England we have received from Mr Parker important information concerning the popular beliefs of the Kandyan Sinhalese of the North Western Province. This information bears in a most interesting manner upon the beliefs

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[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 191.

[2] At Bandaraduwa we were told that once, two or three generations ago, a dead elephant was found in the jungle but its flesh was not eaten.

which we have classified as belonging to the second and third strata of the Vedda religion. We therefore propose to give a short account of these Sinhalese beliefs, but before doing this we may indicate that in our opinion the Kandyan Sinhalese must not be considered the pure or nearly pure descendants of invaders from the Ganges. On the contrary, we believe with Mr Parker that everywhere throughout the old Vedirata and in the hills west of the Mahaweliganga the present day Sinhalese possess a varying and sometimes large amount of Vedda blood. It is therefore only natural that the beliefs of these peasants should present a mixture of the beliefs of the aborigines and of the races which came later into the island. The actual working beliefs of the Sinhalese are exceedingly complicated; there is first the belief in a number of High Gods of whom Skanda—the Kataragam God—appeared to us to be the most important[1]. Then comes the ever-present fear of a countless number of demons who are responsible for misfortune and disaster, who must be constantly propitiated. The worship of these has given rise to a prodigiously elaborate system of demonology complicated by endless local variations and beliefs, intermixed with which there exists the Bandar cult of the Dead already referred to in Chapter VI. A reverence for Buddha which, as far as we could judge, is stronger in the large towns than in the jungle villages loosely holds together this mass of beliefs which the people call Buddhism[2]. It seems obvious that the Bandar cult represents the remains of the primitive Cult of the Dead which appears to have been the religion of the early non-Aryan inhabitants of the whole of Southern India.

This view has the support of Mr Parker, who writes, "The

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[1] Mr Parker writes, "The most important of the Hindu Gods in the opinion of the Kandian Sinhalese is Vishnu, termed by them Mā Vis Unnānsē. I rather think that Ganēsa, termed Gaṇa Deviyō, should be placed next, the statues of these two, only being found in the wihāras.

"The name of Skanda, Katāragama Deviyō, is perhaps oftenest on their lips; but on the whole he does not appear to hold quite as important a position with the villagers as Aiyanār, the son of Mōhini. Both are powerful Forest Gods."

[2] The orthodox Sinhalese Buddhists separate their beliefs in the Indian Gods and in demons from Buddhism. Mr Parker points out that "even the erection of the statues of Vishnu and Ganēsa in the wihāras is of comparatively recent date, and is not altogether approved of by the monks."

777 Sinhalese demonology is very interesting.... There are many classes of Yaku; but I believe that this Bandara worship is the only indigenous portion of it. I have traced practically all the other demons to Southern India, although the Kapuralas claim that a few others, in addition to the Bandaras, are of local origin. They themselves admit that all the rest are imported from India."

777 776 Among these immigrant spiritual beings is one, the Gale Deviyo, who appears to be originally identical with the Gale Yaka of the village Veddas and the Indigollae Yaka of other groups. Mr Parker states that the Gale Deviyo is popularly supposed to have come from India with his Prime Minister Kurumbuda; he is worshipped in Uva, the North Central and North Western Provinces. "He is a beneficent God, who gives food and rain and guards the crops and prevents or checks epidemics." Two miles from the temple at Nirammulla are two caves, and in one of these Kurumbuda killed sixty priests who were there assembled, in order to take possession of the cave himself. Gale Deviyo is danced to annually in July or August on the summit of crags. The dancer, called *anumaetirala* (i.e. one subject to command) represents the god; in the temple he assumes a three-tiered hat and holds a golden katty (*ran kaetta*), and the spirit of the god enters him without any of the usual phenomena of possession. The man who made the katty (or one of his descendants) and the dhobie who washed his clothes accompany the dancer to the foot of the crag which he ascends alone. The hat, katty, and flounces which the dancer wears are kept in the temple.

"In the North Central Province the chief temple of the God is at Indigollaewa, on the southern side of Kalawaewa. The 'dancing rock' (*natana gala*) near it is called Andiyagala. In the North Western Province his chief temple is at Nirammulla, 15 miles N.E. of Kurunegala; and its two 'dancing rocks' are on Devagiriya 'the Hill of the God,' where his original temple was established in a cave which he took by force from the monks killed by Kurumbuda."

Mr Parker points out that it is quite certain that the Gale Deviyo is identical with the Gale Yaka of some at least of the village Veddas, for "there is the same service to him everywhere, and the same tradition of his coming from Malawara-desa, our Maleiyalam, accompanied by his minister Kurumbuda, called a Yaka, but also by the Kandians a Devata or Godling. 177 776

"I got the same account of him from the Tamil-speaking Vaeddas, the Vaeddas of Maha Oya district, the forests south of it, Maduru Oya district, and the extreme south of the Batticaloa district, and the Sinhalese of Uva, North Central Province and North Western Province. He is worshipped in all these three Sinhalese districts. There can be no doubt as to his being a God of the Village Vaeddas.... All in these districts appeal to him in cases of epidemics.... The Tamil-speaking Veddas told me that although called *yaka* he is really their God of all, who taught them everything they know and the names of things and animals, and instructed them regarding their dances.

"The Tamil-speaking Vaeddas address him as 'Lord God,' 'Lord of the Country,' 'Hill Lord' (Maleiya Swami).

"The Tamil-speaking Vaeddas give me the very same account of the arrival of the Gale Yaka and the Gale Deviyo as those of Bintenne and the Sinhalese of the North Western Province. They all agree that he came from Malawara-desa—the Malayalam country—with one minister, and the only point where they do not agree is as to the place where he landed. Some say Kokkagala, others Valeichena on the coast, and the Sinhalese say he came to some hills in their part."

Mr Parker states that the Sinhalese all call Gale Deviyo the god of the Veddas, and the village Veddas told him that a ceremony similar to that described in the North Central Province is performed on Omungala and Kokkagala in the Bintenne. There are temples to him throughout all the village Vedda districts "just like their own huts that might be passed without notice unless specially informed what they are." Where there is no rocky crag on which to dance, the ceremony is performed beneath a tree, and this occurs among the coast Veddas. Mr Parker points out that Gale Deviyo must not be confused with Gale Bandar who came with four or five followers in a stone boat from India and landed near Galle.

To sum up, Mr Parker's observations show that the Gale Deviyo of the Sinhalese of the North Central Province is regarded

177 776 as an immigrant God from beyond the ocean. Mr Parker states that he is also the most important God of the coast Veddas, and this is supported by our observation that the coast Veddas call their most important God Kappalpei, "Ship Spirit" (Mr Parker suggests "ship demon"), and say that he came from over seas. It is therefore clear that among Sinhalese and coast Veddas a foreign spiritual agency is considered the most important of the Gods and temples are raised to him. This God is danced to on certain crags by the Sinhalese, and similar rites occur among some of the sophisticated Veddas of the Bintenne who also say that the spiritual agency Gale Yaka whom they invoke in this ceremony is a foreigner.

In many communities of Veddas, far less sophisticated than the village Veddas, we were told about spirits who inhabited rock-masses or hills such as Walimbagala, but these did not at all correspond to the Gale Deviyo of Mr Parker. It was perfectly clear that to the majority of Veddas they really were simply local unnamed *yaku*, who were spoken of by the name of the peak or rock supposed to be their favourite haunt, and in only one advanced community were these spirits bearing hill names considered to be immigrants from India[1]. We therefore consider that the Gale Yaka of the village Veddas has been adopted from the Sinhalese by the more advanced communities of Veddas where alone he is known, and that although the foreign rite of dancing to him on crags is still retained, he has to some extent taken on Vedda characters as witnessed by his invocation at the *aluyakagama* ceremony described in Chapter IX.

The temple of the Gale Deviyo at Indigollaewa in the North Central Province has already been mentioned. His wife the Kiriamma is worshipped here with him, and God and Goddess are sometimes spoken of as Indigollaewa Devia and Indigollaewa Kiriamma. Concerning him Mr Parker writes, "I collected accounts of him in all parts, and about Indigollaewa in the North Central Province where his temple is, and they all agree that he is the Gale Yaka, while the Sinhalese of Indigollaewa know him only as the Gale Deviyo." "The Sinhalese of Indigollaewa and some of the settled Vaeddas near Maha Oya make offerings to the Gale Yaka and the Kiriamma, as his wife, together; no offerings, however, are made to her on the hill tops, which are reserved for the Gale Yaka.... She is a great food provider for the Vaeddas. Some call her Indigollae Kiriamma; others Kukulapola Kiriamma; but both names referred to the same person, they said."

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[1] Cf. Chapter IX, in which is described the *ruwala* ceremony by which these spirits are propitiated.

At Unuwatura Bubula, where there is a small settlement of Veddas, we saw Gale Yaka invoked (see *alutyakagama*) in a dance in which the *Nae Yaku* and Rahu Yaku were also invoked. At the same dance a female spirit came, about whom there was some confusion, she may have been one of the *Nae Yakini*, or she may have been the Kiriamma who was certainly known. Unfortunately the Kapurale who performed this dance became ill after it and so was unable to discuss the matter with us. Certainly Gale Yaka, Indigollae Yaka and Kande Yaka were all known by name, but there seemed much confusion between them all, perhaps Gale Yaka had become lord of the dead and so usurped the place of Kande Yaka, as he was invoked before the *Nae Yaku* in the same ceremony. Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked at a separate dance (see p. 229, *bulatyakana*). No hint was given us that Gale Yaka and Indigollae Yaka might be names for the same spirit, but of course this may have been so. The information that Indigollae Yaka was extremely powerful both for good and evil and for successful hunting, was volunteered, and some especially valuable beads were kept to offer him.

At Sitala Wanniya we heard of Indigollae Yaka. The invocation given in Chapter X (No. XXIII) clearly shows that he is of foreign origin, and we were told that Riri Yaka was another name for the same spirit. Now Riri Yaka is the Sinhalese and Tamil blood-devil, a demon with particularly well marked characteristics and considered extremely dangerous. There is thus no doubt that at Indigollaewa the "God of Indigollaewa" is the Gale Deviyo, and he retains this character among the village Veddas, but among the wilder Veddas he acquires Vedda characteristics, becomes an attendant on Kande Yaka, and as a foreigner may be confused with other adopted and therefore little known *yaku*.

The position of the Indigollaewa Kiriamma and her relation to the Kiriamma of the Veddas is comparatively simple. Among the wilder Veddas there are certain female spirits, the *yaku* of old women called *kiriamma* (lit. grandmothers) who were especially fond of children, and would occasionally steal them. They sometimes caused sickness. Most of these live on rocks, and at Sitala Wanniya we were told that the Maha Kiriamma was the chief of these and the *Maha Yakini* were her attendants. All these *yakino* were said to be the wives of Veddas who lived long ago and in no case was the Kiriamma ever mentioned as the wife of the Gale Yaka or of Indigollae Yaka. At Unuwatura Bubula a Gale Yakini was mentioned, and this may have been the female spirit who was invoked after Gale Yaka, and in that case it seems reasonable to suppose that she was the original Maha Kiriamma or Maha Yakini of the Veddas, who has become confused with the foreign Kiriamma (identified by Mr Parker with Mohini in Ceylon), the wife of the foreign Gale Deviyo, who probably was introduced through the Sinhalese to the village Veddas at a very early date[1].

Although she does not appear to have passed from the village Veddas to the wilder Veddas, her consort has been carried on as Indigollae Yaka. Further, although when investigating the beliefs of the less sophisticated Veddas we knew nothing of the foreign Gale Yaka and the Indigollae Kiriamma, we feel confident, from much information volunteered to us, that Indigollae Yaka was an attendant spirit, and there was no connection in the minds of the Veddas between him and their own *kiriamma* who were the wives of long dead Veddas.

Even among the Sinhalese the relationship between the Gale Deviyo and the Maha Kiriamma varies in a manner that suggests that the connection between the two is late. Mr Parker writes, "The Kandians of the North West Province know of no wife of the God of the Rock, and I believe that they alone have preserved the correct tradition in this respect... for it is everywhere agreed that when the Gale Yaka came to Ceylon he was accompanied only by Kurumbuda. No doubt she had been taken over from the Tamils, through the Sinhalese of the North Central Province, to provide a suitable wife for the Gale Yaka. Probably she is the one called the Alut Devi, the New Goddess."

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[1] Reference is made on p. 188 to Mr Parker's view that Gale Deviyo is the original supreme god of the Veddas.

There is another matter to which we may refer, namely, a suggested relationship of Kande Yaka to Kanda Swami the Kataragam God. This is a matter to which we paid much attention in the field. The circumstances which at first suggest the identity appear to be the similarity in name, and the fact that "Kandaswami's brother... an important deity in the Hindu temples is commonly called Pillaiar or 'the child.'" Further, it has been suggested that because "Kandaswami's favourite weapon is the *vel* or lance," therefore it is "most probably the original of the" ceremonial arrow "which plays so large a part in Vedda ceremonies." The passages between quotation marks are by Mr P. Arunachalam and are quoted because he has put the case for the identity of Kande Yaka and the Kataragam God more strongly than anyone else[1].

Remembering that the Veddas are bowmen and that until a few generations ago all genuine Veddas were dependent for their livelihood on the bow, the last argument seems to us of little force.

We have already (in Chapter VII) made mention of the celebrated temple at Kataragam and of the extent of its influence among the Veddas[2]. At Bandaraduwa and other places where the temple at Kataragam is known by repute, and at Henebedda in the Nilgala district, the god is called the "Kataragam God" and not Kanda Swami (*swami* "lord"). At these places Kande

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[1] We quote from the report in the *Ceylon Observer* (May 26th, 1908) of Mr Arunachalam's remarks in a discussion on a paper read by one of us before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[2] Cf. Bailey (*op. cit.* pp. 304—305). "The far-famed Hindu Temple of Kataragam which attracts thousands of pilgrims annually from India and is regarded with awe by the Sinhalese is dedicated to Skanda...of the existence of Skanda or of Kataragam the Veddas are profoundly ignorant.". Bailey spoke of the Nilgala Veddas who at the time he wrote must have been in much the same condition as the Sitala Wanniya community is to-day.

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Yaka is also known, he is always looked upon as a Vedda hero famous for his prowess in killing sambar, he is regarded as a powerful but benevolent spirit who never causes sickness, and who, when invoked and given certain offerings of food, grants luck in hunting. The Kataragam God on the other hand is everywhere held in awe, and acknowledged to be the most fearful of all gods.

Although we do not consider Kande Yaka and Skanda identical we are inclined to agree with Mr Parker that "the two may have been confounded by the Gangetic settlers, Skanda being also known as Kanda Kumara, and being a Hill-god." Any such confusion would be bound to react on the beliefs of the village Veddas or of those communities which later gave rise to the village Veddas. Mr Parker continues, "In *Ancient Ceylon* I have pointed out that Kataragama was an important station in the third century B.C., and suggested that the first settlers who landed near Kirinde... may have concluded from the similarity of names that he and Skanda were the same deity."

Since the above was written Mr Parker has been so good as to send us for perusal a part of the proof sheets of his work *Ancient Ceylon*. We may perhaps be allowed to comment on his main thesis that the Gale Yaka or Gale Deviyo is the god of the earliest inhabitants of Ceylon, and therefore of the Veddas.

In the first place Mr Parker's information concerning the Gale Deviyo was obtained from village Veddas, and the Tamil-speaking Veddas whom we call coast Veddas. He also states that the cult of this God is widely spread among Sinhalese villagers of the North Central and North Western Provinces.

We have noted that we found no trace of the Gale Yaka among the wilder Veddas, although allowed to participate in their ceremonies. However, we heard of Indigollae Yaka as an attendant on Kande Yaka, and although it may be that among the peasant Sinhalese and village Veddas these names are synonymous, this is certainly not the case among the less sophisticated Veddas. Again, Mr Parker states that the emblem of the God is the *Ran-kaetta* the "Golden Bill-hook" (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 189). This cannot be regarded as a Vedda emblem, for the bill-hook is unknown to the Veddas, who are essentially bowmen, and among whom the arrow in its ordinary or ceremonial form is associated with the invocation of their dead and the other *yaku* whom they worship. 177 776

It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the Gale Yaka is an immigrant god introduced by the Sinhalese to the village Veddas. The fact that politically organized Veddas are mentioned in the Mahavansa as possessing a temple dedicated to the Vyādha Dēva[1]—the Vedda God—in the great city of Anuradhapura in the fourth century B.C. does not seem to us to bear upon the condition of the wilder Veddas, nor do we follow Mr Parker's identification of this God with the Gale Yaka. All the facts adduced by Mr Parker seem to us to be most readily explained by the interaction of Sinhalese and village Veddas as indicated in Chapter I.

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[1] Mahavansa, Chapter x, p. 43 (Tournour's translation).

# CHAPTER VIII

## MAGIC

789 In the chapters upon religion we have described those ceremonies and observances of the Veddas which depend for their efficacy upon the successful appeal to some extra-human personal influence. In this section we shall discuss a number of actions which we consider magical, that is, actions which are expected to produce the required result automatically by virtue of their own intrinsic qualities.

One of the first things we noted during our stay in the Vedda country was the very slight part which magic played in the life of the Veddas. The more we saw of the people the more convinced we became of this. It seems to us that among the uncontaminated Veddas of two or three generations ago magical practices were almost entirely absent, and even at the present day the few remaining Veddas who have not been much exposed to foreign influence have scarcely any customs that are truly magical.

We include in this chapter the custom which formerly
789 existed of eating a small piece of human liver in times of
266 great stress, for even if this custom be not considered magical in
the strict sense, it is clearly based on principles which lie at the
root of many magical beliefs.

789 Since it is important to make thoroughly clear the absence of many forms of magic, we shall consider the condition of the different communities with regard to some of the most commonly occurring forms.

### Magic directed against the Individual.

754 This is completely absent except among the village Veddas, which is all the more surprising in view of the extraordinary

prevalence among the Sinhalese of magic having for its object 754
the production of disease and death. Even the Henebedda
Veddas, who have adopted a number of Sinhalese charms
against animals, do not believe in this form of magic. The 754
presence of a woman with wasting of both legs and contracture, 753
the result of a long-standing ulcerative process of obscure origin
which developed spontaneously, enabled this to be tested.

Although we discussed this woman's condition with a number of Veddas it was only once suggested, and then very doubtfully, that it might have been due to Sinhalese *kuniyam* magic[1], and it was clear that to the community generally this woman's disease was simply an accident, the origin of which they did not understand and did not trouble about.

Though Veddas, and especially Vedda women, are extremely 754
shy there is no belief in the evil eye, or in the danger of being "overlooked."

## CHARMS PROTECTIVE AGAINST ANIMALS.

The bear is the only animal that the Veddas really fear, and 825
there is no doubt that a number of Veddas and jungle-dwelling Sinhalese are mauled each year, indeed, at least one man in [illegible]ch community that we visited bore the marks of the bear's paws. Bear's flesh is not eaten and we doubt if Veddas ever voluntarily attack a bear, though there is no doubt that they sometimes kill one that has attacked them. Hence, the bear is called the "enemy" and his name is seldom mentioned nor is he
represented among the rock paintings at Pihilegodagalge [532]
although the leopard, who steals the Vedda dogs and is hated in consequence, is represented. When questioned on the subject our male informants said nothing, but a number of women looked surprised and one said quite decidedly that no one would paint a bear. The words used in speaking of the bear are of

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[1] That the *kuniyam* idea was foreign to the one Vedda who suggested it, was proved by the results of further questioning, when our informant gave an outline of one of the commonest Sinhalese beliefs as to the method of preparation and action of *kuniyam* charms. The reference to *kuniyam* in one of the "Vedda charms" published by Mr De Zoysa (*Journal Ceylon Branch R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, 1881, p. 103), cannot be taken to invalidate our conclusions, for many of these charms show undoubted Sinhalese influence.

The words used in speaking of the bear are of

825 interest from this standpoint. We believe that in most Vedda communities *walaha* the ordinary word for bear is seldom or
789 never used[1], certainly this was the case at Sitala Wanniya where the word ordinarily used for bear was *heria*. This word was not considered a dangerous word to use when all bears were at a distance, but when there was any possibility of coming in contact with a bear the animal was spoken of as *katera*, the meaning of this word being "enemy" or "adversary." On one occasion when with Handuna of Sitala Wanniya we came to a hill covered with irregularly weathered rocks and known to be the haunt of bears, Handuna shouted *katera yanda* ("enemy begone") before taking an abrupt turn in the track which here skirted a mass of rock. He repeated this sentence two or three times in a loud voice and assured us that we could now proceed without running the least risk of meeting a bear, and he himself led us round the rock with every appearance of careless ease, explaining that even if bears were about they would have heard what he had said and would have moved away. Two of the Henebedda Veddas exhibited the same appearance of carelessness when guiding us to a rock-shelter which though sometimes used by Veddas had not been tenanted for some time and bore obvious signs of being the lair of a bear. Sita Wanniya, our guide, explained his attitude by his belief in the power of the charms with which he was confident he could put any bear to flight.

These charms were recited in a loud voice, in fact the last words were almost shrieked and would doubtless have turned any bear, for it is a well known fact that the Sinhalese bear fears man and only attacks when surprised or cornered. This is shown by the circumstances in which the majority of accidents with bears occur. A man coming silently along a narrow jungle track suddenly meets a bear, or disturbs one grubbing behind a white ant heap. It is then that the bear, as much frightened as the man, charges inflicting severe though seldom fatal injuries.

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[1] We met with one obvious exception to this rule, the Henebedda youths Sita Wanniya and Poromala used the word *walaha* quite freely even in the jungle, and old Poromala, half of whose face was torn away by a bear some years ago, has been nicknamed Walaha, the Bear. This name was, however, given him by the Sinhalese.

Bailey's remarks on these charms, which unfortunately he does 825 not quote, are extremely pertinent. "I shall never forget the 789 first time one of these Vedda charms was recited for my edification. It was midnight; I was in the heart of a dense and gloomy forest, twenty miles from any habitation.... I was chatting to an intelligent Vedda at my side and then learnt for the first time, that they had charms....I begged him to recite one—and, in an instant, the forest re-echoed with such unearthly yells, that I felt he would be a bold bear indeed, whose heart did not die within him, and whose legs did not carry him far out of hearing of the repeated and discordant 'behegang! wirooowee! wiroowah!' which formed the burden of the charm. Of its perfect efficacy, my friend had no doubt; nor indeed had I, but he was rather huffed when I suggested that the mere noise may have had something to do with its success[1]."

A youth, Kaira of Bingoda, wore a number of bone beads on his waist string. He refused to sell these or exchange them for other beads or cloth, and though obviously not desirous of discussing them, stated that he had made them by grinding down the bones of a bear which he had found in the jungle. Although the remains of animals are not commonly found we did ourselves find the remains of one bear which we identified with certainty by the skull which was tolerably well preserved. The wearing of these beads as a matter of personal feeling by a single Vedda, if not exactly an example of magic, seems to us to be an example of the mode of thought from which magical practices spring and perhaps an example of an early experiment in magic, which under favourable circumstances might give rise to an amulet of bear's bone.

The Veddas of Sitala Wanniya have no charms against 789 bears or other animals and the only charms directed towards 177 this end that we could discover were a number obviously of Sinhalese origin which we collected at Henebedda. Probably these are not of very recent introduction, for we obtained some of them from old Poromala, nicknamed Walaha. Poromala is one of the oldest men of the community and is its leader as

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 189.

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177 far as a leader can be said to exist, and he told us that he had learnt these invocations as a boy.

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539 We regret that the names of our informants were not noted in every case in the following charms, but we give them where possible. The transliterations and translations of these charms as well as the comments on them are by Mr Parker who points out that the word *Ōn* occurring in a number of them is the Indian *Ōm*[1].

The first two charms are directed against bears.

*Arini kurini, uḍagu paṭa gē ja hurē, poḷ.*

Venerable one of noble family (?). O Lord, born in a house in a rock-hole. Be off!

Mr Parker writes, "I do not know the meaning of the first two words of the spell, *arini kurini*. Probably *arini* is derived from *ārya* and the honorific ending *ni*, meaning 'the venerable one.' In that case the second word may be *kulīna*, 'of noble family,' and the whole translation would be as given. *Paṭā* for *pataha*, a hole, hollow or pool."

This charm was given us by Poromala of Bingoda who said he had known it a long time. Its meaning could not be ascertained in the field. The next charm was obtained from Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, who said it had been used in his youth by the Kovil Vanamai Veddas.

*Ōn Dahasak Budunnē kunu goḍen upan Nīla Kandigē baḍē upan Nīlāda Nīlīda, nil, pō āḍā, nil, po aḍī, poḷ.*

*Ōn!* Born in the womb of Nīla (the blue-black) Kandi, born from the heap of filth of a thousand Buddhas (or sages), whether (you are) Nīlā or Nīlī (the blue-black one, m. or f.). Stop! Go thou (m.)! Stop! Go thou (f.). Be off!

The first part is ordinary Sinhalese; the orders to go are in Tamil.

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[1] "This word begins nearly all invocations, and it is stated in the *Vishnu Purāna* (Wilson, p. 273) that 'The syllable *Ōm* is defined to be the eternal monosyllabic Brahma.' On p. 274 Wilson adds (f. n.) 'The daily prayers of the Brahman commence with the formula *Ōm bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, swar*; *Ōm*, earth, sky, heaven.'

"In the *Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (Bühler), I. 4. 6 (Aphorisms of Āpastamba) it is said 'The syllable "*Ōm*" is the door of heaven.' At I. 4. 8 also 'And in common life, at the occasion of ceremonies performed for the sake of welfare, the sentences shall be headed by this word, as, for instance, "(*Ōm*) an auspicious day!" "(*Ōm*) welfare."'"

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Mr Parker writes, "This looks like a very modern spell. The speaker treats the bear contemptuously; but I cannot explain the reference to the sages. He wishes the bear to understand the very inferior position he occupies, in his opinion."

The next charm applies to the elephant.

*Ōm! Aeri singa wayirā naeri singā swadgayā, namā. St.*

Ōm! Excited (or strong) elephant, angry one, stout elephant. Salutation! homage! Be off!

We could obtain no satisfactory translation of this charm. Mr Parker writes, "The difficult words in this spell are *aeri* and *naeri*. Such spells as these almost always commence by applying honourable epithets to the animals, and therefore a probable derivation of the former word is from *airya* (Skt root *ir*), with the meaning 'excited,' 'aroused,' or from *iraya* 'strong.'

"*Naeri* is perhaps derived from *nerijanawā*, to grow stout or obese, although the change from *e* to *ae* is unusual. The translation would then be as above.

"*Singa*, for *śringa*, a horn; compare *śringin*, an elephant, derived from the same word.

"*Wayirawā*. This was translated in Ceylon as Bhairava, but the Sinhalese form for this deity is Bahirawā, and I prefer the meaning given above, from the Tamil *wayiram*, angry, and *avan*, he.

"*Swadgayā* appears literally to mean 'may you go to heaven,' *swarga*; but compare *swāgata* 'salutation' from *suwa* and *agata*."

Mr De Zoysa gives the following charm as a protection against elephants but he does not give its origin.

*Ichchata walley*
*Pachchata walley*
*Dela dewalley*
*Site appa site.*

A hanging member in front (trunk)
A hanging member behind (tail)
On two sides two hanging members (the two ears)
Stay, beast, stay!

789 The next two charms were given by Tissahami the Vedda
537 Arachi as protections against the leopard and the buffalo respectively. They were said to be in use at Bandaraduwa but owing to an oversight this statement was not verified.

*Ōn! Sinhan Sivattha vedippulayā nam ata hata āru. Sī.*

*Ōn!* O Lion, for the sake of Siva, if you are one who has escaped from shooting, may (your) foot and mouth be appeased. Be off!

The words of this charm are chiefly Tamil.

*Sivattha* from *Śiva* and *attham*, on account of.

*Vedippulayā* for *Vedippiḷeiyār* (honorific) from *Veḍi* "a shot," and *piḷei* to escape from a danger.

*Āru*, v. *āṛu*, "to cool," "be appeased," "repose."

*Sī* for *isī*, an expression used in driving away cats.

Mr Parker points out that "remembrance of the danger from which he himself escaped is expected to cause the leopard to sympathise with and to spare the man."

*Ōn. Nā Waeraelligē putā Rana Dēvatāwē Andungiri parwwatē wasin indagena Kalugal rusiyāṭayi tō asni maṭa no wayi. Hōwa āḍā howa.*

*Ōn.* Rana Devata, son of Nāga-Waeraelli (f.), thou shalt strike the Kalugal (Black-rock) Ascetic who sits on the Andun-giri (Black-hill) mountain; not me. Be off, be off!

Mr Parker does not know anything about the Rana Devata (Godling of Fighting) or his mother, or the Ascetic, but the charm suggests to him that the Devata is believed to inspire the buffalo to attack men.

Bailey gives the following charm against an animal called *okma* which he says is the wild boar, though Mr Parker considers that the *okma* is the buffalo and this view is also taken by Mr De Zoysa. We are inclined to agree with them and therefore quote this charm here.

*Iri deyyannē ōkma*
*Sanda deyyannē ōkma*
*Pasē Budunnē ōkma*
*Situ ōkma situ*

*Okma* of the Sun-god!
*Okma* of the Moon-god!
*Okma* of the Pase Budu!
Stay, *Okma*, stay!

The great interest of this spell is that Bailey obtained it from the Nilgala Veddas over fifty years ago, and that he was able to trace the Sinhalese charm against toothache—from which it was derived. 789 539

*Ira deyent ayā!*
*Sanda deyent ayā!*
*Passi Budunt ayā!*
*Datt nositoo dat ayā!*
Worm of the sun-god!
Worm of the moon-god!
Worm of the Passe Buddha!
Stay not in the tooth, thou tooth-worm.

Bailey recognised the importance of this discovery, for he wrote, "These are identical; yet the Veddahs and the Sinhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another's charms....The term okma I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Sinhalese, certainly I assume it means 'wild boar,' and this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path; but it is not the term used by the Veddahs for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pase, or Pache Buddha, is curious as occurring in both....The other Veddah charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Sinhalese, but on that point I am still making enquiries...[1]."

The next two charms are against snakes and were obtained from Poromala (Walaha) of Henebedda and Poromala of Bingoda.

It is necessary for the efficacy of the first of these charms that a string of human hair be bound round the limb above the bite. The hand of the operator is then carried down the limb repeatedly as he mutters the charm, the thumb nail being flicked against the ground each time the hand has passed down the leg[2]. This is to drive the poison into the ground. The string of hair is not the purposeful beginning of rational treatment; we believe that it was not considered necessary to tie the hair

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 304.

There can be little doubt that this and similar charms crept into the beliefs of the wilder Veddas at the same time and in the same way as the *yaku* of village Veddas, e.g. Unapane Kiriamma, became known to the wilder Veddas.

[2] Snake bites in the jungle are invariably on the leg.

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string at all tightly and our informants were perfectly certain that the benefit derived from this treatment (which Poromala assured us he had seen succeed more than once) was due to the virtue of the hair of the head which might equally well be that of the snake's victim, or of any one else.

*Namō. Nayin gini kàlam, palangan davana kàlam, karawala māla kàlam, pansiyak sarpayin äs gasai, è gasai, dat gasai, wisa kata polowataja dēwasiha.*

Salutation! I set fire to cobras, I coil up (or split up) palangas (*Daboia russellii*), I make curry of karawalas (*Bungarus sp.*). From five hundred snakes the eyes are knocked out, the heads are beaten, the teeth are knocked out, and the poison is sent down to the earth. Ewasiha!

"*Namo* is a Pali expression, borrowed from Buddhist works etc. in which it takes the place occupied by *om* in India. It is derived from the Skt. root *nam*, to bend, bow etc.

"*Mala* is the colloquial word for curry; also for meat, but the latter word is not suitable here. The Sinhalese never say 'I made meat of' anything.

"*Dewasiha* from *de*, the conjunction 'and' in combination with *ēwasiha*. The last two words of the charm should be *polowataṭa ēwasiha*."

*Ahasața guru kawuda guru? Aha(sa)ța guru ira sanda de guru.*

*Polowața guru kawuda guru? Polowața guru Mahikat devura.*

*Nayinața guru kawuda guru? Nayința guru Nāga guru.*

*Visața guru kawu(da) guru? Visața guru mamayi guru.*

*Visē kasin tibū guru aitā. Me dasē guruņ ama yayi dīsē.*

*Peleņ visē dāra visē. Tō nakana tō dacața koțe ama.*

*Mas dama wisa kamana, visē nasti kala Guruppurevāja pānan.*

*Ōm namō.*

The preceptor of the sky, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the sky, the Sun and the Moon are the two preceptors.

The preceptor of the earth, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the earth, the great Goddess Mahikantawa is the preceptor.

And the preceptor of the cobras, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the cobras, the Naga is the preceptor.
The preceptor of poison, who is the preceptor?
The preceptor to poison, I am the preceptor.

For casting down poison (there is) the mother of the teacher of the three worlds (Buddha).

The preceptor of this country will go to another country (after death).

The poison of Polangas is the limit of poison. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (it) for (thy) two eyes, I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, going (afterwards, out of thy reach) to the excellent king of many *garuda*, who have no poison. *Ōn!* salutation!

"A *guru* is a teacher or preceptor, one who has complete knowledge of the subject. A student's teacher is his *guru*. The word is also especially used to indicate a Brahman who is thoroughly acquainted with the Vedas and the forms of religious ceremonies, and who acts as a king's chaplain. Brihaspati, the deity of the planet Jupiter, was the *guru* of the Gods[1].

"Mahikantawa is the Earth Goddess, or personification of the earth.

"*Nāga* are supernatural beings who take either a human form or that of cobras, at will. I think the reference to Mayā, the mother of Buddha, means that by bringing into the world such a son she has reduced the poison of evil deeds and thoughts, which are compared to those of the poisonous snakes. The poison of the polanga (*Daboia russelli*) is said to be the most powerful of all snake poisons. It is stated that persons sometimes die within five minutes after being bitten by this snake, and usually within half an hour. There is an idea that some snakes have the power of projecting poison from their eyes.

"The *garuda* is a fabulous bird which feeds on poisonous snakes, especially cobras."

We failed to obtain any coherent account of the meaning of

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[1] In the *Ordinances of Manu* (Burnell's translation) ii, 1 and 2, it is stated "That Brahman is called Guru who performs according to rule the rites on conception and the like, and feeds (the child) with rice (for the first time)." At ii, 149 it is said, "He who confers the benefit of the Veda on anyone, be it little or be it much, he should know him to be here his Guru, by reason of that benefit through the Veda."

989 539 this charm in the field and are indebted to Mr Parker for the following explanation. "I think I understand the meaning of this invocation quite clearly. The reciter says 'As the Sun and Moon are the preceptors, or the beings or deities who have a complete knowledge of the sky; as Mahikantawa has complete knowledge of the earth; as Nagas have complete knowledge of cobras, so I have complete knowledge of all poisons.' He first wishes to impress the snake with a belief in his powers, and then he threatens it."

The next charm given by Poromala of Bingoda cures the bite of the centipede, but neither Poromala nor Tissahami the Vedda Arachi could tell us the meaning of the spell.

*Nāngara guru, nāngara guru, nāngara polakun aeragena visakuṇ.*

*Man atu bindagena, ratlaeyā pāgāgena, aeli moḍarā piṭa siṭagena, api guruṇ sikikaragena, mama yannē visa bāgena, tō nedana tō daesṭa kalē nan maṇ daena visa baemnaṇ, eyin taekae(?) visē naeta baku Guruppraṇja yanam. Ōn namō!*

Vile preceptors, vile preceptors, poisonous ones taking (with you) vile young ones!

I, breaking branches, trampling on the Centipede, sitting on the back of the White Peacock, reflecting on our preceptors, I will go (only after) casting out the poisons. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (poison) for (thy) two eyes[1], I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, after (?) that going to the excellent king of many *garudas*, who have no poison. *Ōn*, Salutation!

"The centipede is here treated with much less respect than the vertebrates, and the last two words must be said ironically. The breaking of branches refers to the custom of making offerings of leafy twigs when asking for the protection of the forest Deities. I do not know the white peacock, *aeli monarā*. (The bird is sometimes colloquially called *moṇḍarā*.) It may be the peacock that is the riding animal or *vahana* of the God Skanda, which is carved at the Tanjore temple with a snake hanging from its bill. Peacocks kill centipedes as well as snakes.

"The preceptors on whom the exorcist reflects will be those mentioned in the spell for cobras—that is Buddha, the Sun and Moon, Mahikantawa, and the Nagas who are guardian deities. Possibly also Skanda and Ayiyanar, the Guardian Forest Deities of the Sinhalese. I do not understand *taekas*, there may have been some mistake in writing down the charm." 789 539

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[1] Another reading is, If thou (even) unwittingly, hast made (poison) for (thy) two eyes.

## CHARMS TO OBTAIN FOOD.

Neither amulets nor verbal formulae are used to insure straight shooting or the killing of deer or sambar, the two animals providing the greater part of the flesh consumed by the Veddas; nor are there amulets or charms to obtain success in pig hunting. Doubtless this is because the *yaku* when properly invoked give success in these matters. There are, however, no *yaku* whose special business it is to give success in the monkey drives which are, or were until recently, practised, and we found that certain formulae were sung by the members of the driving party, and in some case muttered by the men who waited in ambush for the monkeys to be driven to them. And we were told that the singing or reciting of these formulae was necessary to the success of the drive. 789 224

Mr Parker uses the diminutive "doggie" in the translations of the two following charms collected at Bandaraduwa in order to retain the sense of the originals, which clearly indicates that the reciter is speaking coaxingly to the monkeys. The words of the charm are literally "dog" and "bitch," the use of which in the translation would give a wrong impression. In one charm the hunters call the monkeys to them assuring them that they are quite safe, for certainly they cannot shoot them. 789 224 539

Charm sung while driving Wandura monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

*Ammā maya nā kolandānī*
*Kolandan handō piṭa yannī*
*Ekī kiyalā innō hālō,*
*Ēkit awalā yanḍama yannī.*
"*Taek, taek,*" *kiyalā wāren ballā.*
"*Kik, kik,*" *kiyalā wāren baellī.*
*Nāwini nāgan handō piṭō,*
*Ēkiṭa dunnak widala kōdoyi*
*Ēkī yanḍama yanḍama yannī.*
*Keliyen keliyaṭa wāren ballā,*
*Keli madalāgena duwagena wāra.*
Mother mine, the leaf-clad chief,
Pops behind a leafy trunk;

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Tells another who is there;
She, excited, runs away.
"Tack, tack," crying, doggie come;
"Kik, kik," crying, doggie come.
In the Na-tree forest hid,
Safe behind a banyan trunk,
With a bow she can't be shot,
Setting off to go, to go.
Playing, playing, doggie come.
Stop your games and running come.

Charm sung while driving Rilawa monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

*Ammā māyē nā rāsānī*
*Rāsan handē piṭa yannī*
*"Rō, Rō" kiyala wāren ballā.*
*Buruṭah handē piṭe yannā.*
*Keliyen koliyaṭa duwagana wāre,*
*Keli maḍalāgena duwagena wāre.*

Mother mine, the lovely chief,
Pops behind a cotton trunk,
"Ro, Ro" crying, doggie come.
Behind a satin stem she goes.
Playing, playing, running come;
Stop your games and running come.

The Sinhalese heading of this charm, collected at Henebedda (where it was dictated by Poromala of Bingoda) runs *Wanduraṇ nawa tanaka wiya*, the translation of which is "said at a place where *wandura* stay."

*Ātu surā damannī*
*Ō man handiṭa pāninnī.*
*"Ah, Oh," kiyā wārī nam*
*Kola surā damannī,*
*Mī man handī naṭannī.*
*Bālā siṭī aeyi dennā?*

The branches they scratch off and throw down,
They spring on to that trunk (?).
Come, indeed, saying "Ah, Oh."
They scratch off and throw down the leaves.
They dance on this trunk (?).
Why did they stop and look, both of them?

789 We could find no trace of any ceremony having for its object the control of the supply of game and honey or the increase of the number of yams and edible berries. It is assumed that

these are beyond human control, though the *yaku*, who in an indefinite way are considered to be concerned with them, give success in hunting, yam digging and honey gathering. 789

Nor could we discover any trace of weather magic in spite of the preference for rain indicated in a number of the invocations given in Chapter X, as well as by the remark on this subject made by Handuna, quoted upon page 84.

We could not discover among the wilder Veddas any magic connected with the bow and arrow, and certainly these were never personified or named. We, however, obtained the following "song" from the village Veddas of Bintenne. It was taken down just as we were breaking camp and so no special attention was paid to it, as we were assured that it was of the same nature as other songs we had collected. Mr Parker, who has provided the following transliteration and translation, points out that, in his opinion, this "song" must be regarded as a charm said over an arrow in order to kill monitor lizards. To our suggestion that this song might be sung mockingly to a particularly bad shot, urging him to try again and see if he could not hit the lizard in some part of its body, Mr Parker replied that this did not seem probable to him. "If this were addressed to a person who was a bad shot I hardly think expressions would be used such as *i maela* which would then require to be translated 'younger brother of arrows.'" We accordingly treat this formula as a charm and include it in the present chapter. 789 539

*Mündi Kanda piṭa waṭtirī gā,*
*Ēkaṭa widapā kiri kurī.*
*Ettama arapa ī maelā,*
*Piṭaṭa accen palāga.*
*Etanama arapa ī maelā,*
*Tommaṭa laeṭṭen (palāga).*
*Ettama arapa ī melā,*
*Tommaṭa aeccen palāga.*
*Etanama aerapa ī maelā,*
*Bellaṭa laeṭṭen palāga.*
*Etanama aerapa ī maelā,*
*Baḍaṭa laeṭṭen palāga.*
*Etanama aerapa ī maelā,*
*Kihila maeddee laewūga.*

789 Go and drop behind the body of the monitor lizard, a ?
539 Pierce it, dear cousin.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle (or edge) of the back.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle of the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the neck.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the stomach.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and fix (yourself) in the middle of the armpit.

"In order to rhyme all the lines ought to end in a long a.

"*Ettama* is an evident mistake for *etanama*.

"*Tomma* is for *tumba*, a Vaedi word for tail, the Sinhalese is *tubu*.

"*Accen* and *aeccen* are for *assen*, abl. of *assa*, angle or corner.

"*Laetten* is a word I have not previously met with. The only probable derivation with which I am acquainted is the Tamil *iratta*, Sin. *retta*, double, two-fold.

"*Maslā* means younger brother.

"*Kiri hurā*, lit. milk cousin, simply means dear cousin."

## LOVE CHARMS.

832 Love magic or charms to compel love do not seem to exist among the wilder Veddas, though in the Bintenne we were told that women may charm the waist strings they give to their husbands, in order to ensure their fidelity.

## AMULETS.

301 Before discussing the existence of these it is necessary to determine to what extent the Veddas now wear, or formerly wore, ornaments.

Disregarding the stories current among the Sinhalese that the Veddas formerly had valuable jewellery and pots of pure gold—legends of which the Veddas themselves are quite

[errata — see p. xx. — Analyst]

ignorant—the evidence for the use of jewellery or personal 301 ornaments worn for their own sake is limited to the former wearing of ear ornaments by the Vedda women. Bailey states [304] that the women "have their ears pierced and wear in the lobes round studs of ivory[1]," and this was confirmed by our old Sinhalese informant, whose evidence as to the former condition of the Veddas has been given in Chapter II. It seems that men did not wear ear ornaments, although we met some village Veddas (Dambani) who wore earrings, and a few men in other communities were seen with pierced ears. This point of view is confirmed by Nevill who wrote, "Men occasionally wore a few large beads on their waist string, if they could afford it, but no other jewels," and he describes the women's ear ornaments as "ear-jewels, the size of a man's thumb made of ivory, white horn, or bone, and carved or etched...worn through the lobe of the ear[2]."

At the present time among the wilder Veddas neither men nor women wear beads or ornaments of any kind, though the women are pleased to accept beads as presents.

It is otherwise among the more sophisticated Veddas of the Bintenne. At Omuni all the women and girls wore beads, and though they could not account for their origin, we were able to ascertain that they had been in their possession at least five [428] generations. They descended usually from grandmother to granddaughter, some strings being given to each girl-child at birth, the rest being usually given when the girl married, or on the death of the grandmother. These beads are of glass, mostly red though some are green and a few white. They have been identified by Mr C. H. Read as 17th century Venetian beads, and were doubtless a present from some notable who required assistance from the Veddas as he passed through their country.

This summarises all we have been able to learn concerning the use of personal ornaments among the Veddas, and though Nevill states, presumably of the Veddas of the Bintenne, that they "delight to deck their hair with bright or fragrant flowers," we were unable to find any trace of this practice occurring

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 184.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 190.

301 among the wilder Veddas at the present day. It therefore appears that although beads are worn as ornaments by the members of certain communities in the Bintenne there is no [184] evidence for their use as such among the Veddas to the east of the Badulla-Batticaloa road.

We may next consider certain facts which seem to indicate 301 that beads may be sometimes treated as amulets, or at least as 751 having magical power. At Bandaraduwa where there has been a great deal of Sinhalese influence, one woman wore a piece of knotted string round her throat which had been charmed and put on by a Sinhalese to cure her of some ailment. When we gave her a string of beads she was very pleased and immediately broke the old charmed string and put the beads round her neck in place of it.

At Bendiyagalge all the women were particularly anxious for us to give beads to their children and immediately put these round their necks, but those given to themselves were not usually put on in our presence. In both these cases there is only the suggestion that beads were regarded as anything more than ornaments, and this also holds good as regards the beads of bear's bone worn by Kaira of Bingoda already recorded, but in the following cases the relation of beads to the *yaku* is perfectly clear. The women of Unuwatura Bubula, though they possessed beads of the same kind as those worn by the 301 women of Omuni, were afraid to wear them, and gave them 791 to the shaman to keep and use in *yaku* ceremonies. In this village we found that women would not accept red beads as presents because "they were afraid," though they readily took the white beads offered them, and the shaman when dancing to the Alut Yakini wore cross shoulder straps of old beads, and similar beads were kept for Indigollae Yaka.

There is equally strong evidence of the definite association 301 of beads with the *yaku* in other communities, though the reason 782 for this association could not be determined. At Sitala Wanniya a band of bast was placed upon the offering to the Rahu Yaku, and our informants said that they would have used beads instead of the bast had they possessed them. At the same place when preparing for the dance to Dola Yaka, who gives

success in honey gathering, the shaman asked us for two strings 301
of beads. These beads he placed over betel leaves upon two 782
arrows thrust in the centre of the dancing ground which were surrounded by betel leaves offered to the *yaka*. These beads were said to represent the rough rope of creeper with which the green twigs forming the smoker were secured and the rope by which the smoker was lowered to the comb.

When it is remembered that Veddas do not tattoo or paint 304
themselves, and have never been seen wearing any kind of seeds 302
as ornaments, it seems reasonable to assume that where beads 301
are sought after by the Veddas they are valued for their supposed magical properties.

In conclusion we may give the only perfectly clear instance 751
of a Vedda wearing an amulet with which we are acquainted. The shaman of Bandaraduwa wore on his wrist a small silver cylinder such as is commonly used to contain a written charm. The cylinder was empty and had never contained a charm, but the shaman told us that he wore it in order to be cured of an illness from which he had suffered formerly, and that presently he would give the cylinder to some pilgrim proceeding to Kataragam in order that he might deposit it in the temple there.

## THE EATING OF HUMAN LIVER.

Every group of Veddas except the most sophisticated village 789
Veddas believe that it was formerly the custom for a man to 266
carry in his betel pouch a small piece of dry human liver. But the majority of our informants were not clear as to the exact reason for doing this, though they were all agreed that it had something to do with raising a man's valour and making him strong to bear trouble. It was essential that the liver should be taken from a man killed by the individual who proposed to carry a portion of the dried liver in his pouch. When a man had been killed the slayer would open his belly and take out a small portion of his liver which he would dry in the sun in a secret place. This custom appears to have ceased about three generations ago, but the following instance, said to have occurred about fifty years ago, was given us at Bandaraduwa.

787 The headman of a small group of Kovil Vanamai Veddas killed a Sinhalese simply because he required a piece of human
266 liver to keep in his betel pouch. In spite of this example the Bandaraduwa people could not tell us exactly how it was used, and it was only at Sitala Wanniya that it was ascertained that the purpose of the dried liver was to make men strong and confident to avenge insults. A man would bite off a piece of the dried liver and chew it, saying to himself: "I have killed this man; why should I not be strong and confident and kill this other one who has insulted me?" As far as we could understand a Vedda might thus work himself up into a condition of berseker fury, but this was only done after very serious insult, as when a man's wife had been carried off or been unfaithful, or when his bow and arrows had been stolen or an attempt made to take his land or caves[1].

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[1] It was doubtless an exaggerated account of this practice that led Gillings to accuse the Veddas of cannibalism (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch*, 1853).

# CHAPTER IX

## CEREMONIAL DANCES

WITH a single possible exception the dances of the Veddas are ceremonial and are performed with the object of becoming possessed by a *yaka* in the manner that has already been stated in Chapter VI where the subjective phenomena of possession are discussed. The majority of the ceremonial dances described in this chapter are pantomimic, and so well illustrate the objective manifestations of the condition of possession that little need be said on this subject, though it may be well to repeat our conviction that there is no considerable element of pretence in the performance of the shaman. The sudden collapse which accompanies the performance of some given act of the pantomime, usually an important event towards which the action has been leading up, is the feature that is most difficult to explain. According to the Veddas themselves it occurs when a *yaka* suddenly leaves the individual possessed, but it does not invariably accompany the cessation of possession, and it may equally occur when the individual becomes possessed, as at the Bandaraduwa *Nae Yaku* ceremony described on pages 233 to 237, where the first sign of possession shown by the brothers of the dead man was their collapse into the arms of their supporters. This can be explained as the result of expectancy, they expected to be overcome by the spirit of the deceased, and in fact this happened. In this connection we may refer to a Sinhalese "devil ceremony" which we witnessed in the remote jungle village of Gonagolla in the Eastern Province. One of us has described this ceremony elsewhere[1], but we would here

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[1] Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journal Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXVIII, 1908.

535 specially refer to the condition of the *katandirale* or "devil
786 dancer" when dealing with the dangerous demon Riri Yaka. Although he took special precautions to prevent the demon entering him, that is to say to avoid possession by the demon, he almost collapsed, requiring to be supported in the arms of an assistant as under the assaults of the *yaka* he tottered with drawn features and half open quivering lips and almost closed eyes. Yet avowedly he was not possessed by the demon, but on the contrary was successful in warding off possession. His whole appearance was that of a person suffering from some amount of shock and in a condition of partial collapse, while the rapidity with which he passed into deep sleep immediately Riri Yaka, and his almost equally dreaded consort Riri Yakini, had left him, also favour the genuine character of his sufferings, concerning which he said that although he had never completely lost consciousness he had been near doing so and had felt giddy and nauseated[1]. Here we have a condition only a degree short of possession, occurring in an individual who not only hoped and expected to avoid being possessed by the spirit whom he invoked to come to the offering, but took elaborate precautions to prevent it. Had he become possessed it would have been a disaster which would have led to his illness and perhaps death, and would certainly have frustrated the object of the ceremony. Here there can have been no desire to lose consciousness, yet as the result of anticipation of the attack of the *yaka* the *katandirale* came near collapse.

This in our opinion throws a flood of light on Vedda possession and the collapse which may take place at its beginning, but it does not directly explain the collapse often experienced when a *yaka* leaves a person. But here we may seek assistance in the idea of analogy; when a spirit leaves the body, collapse and unconsciousness, permanent (death) or temporary (swoon, fainting fits or sleep), ensue. When the *yaka* leaves the body which for the time it has entirely dominated, what more natural than that collapse should occur 535 or be feigned by the less honest or susceptible practitioners? 786 There is no doubt that the Vedda ceremonies make considerable demand on the bodily powers of the dancers, but this is not so great as in the case of the Sinhalese devil ceremony of Gonagolla, since the Vedda ceremonies are of shorter duration—none we saw lasted over two hours and the majority certainly did not take so long. In spite of this we noted, after more than one ceremony, that the shaman was genuinely tired, and this was the case at Sitala Wanniya, where Kaira appeared actually exhausted at the end of the Pata Yaka ceremony.

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[1] During the condition of partial collapse the dancer's face was covered with sweat and so felt clammy, but this may only have been the result of his previous exertions; his pulse was small and rapid and was certainly over 120 though the conditions prevented it being accurately counted.

We may now refer to the steps of the Vedda dance. The 535 Drs Sarasin have described the steps of the arrow dance of the Henebedda Veddas in an elaborate and rather formal manner. We shall shortly quote their description of this dance and meanwhile content ourselves with summarising the movements of the Vedda dances. Essentially, these appear to consist of steps taken alternately with each foot, each step being followed by a couple of pats on the ground delivered with the ball of the foot that is in advance, and after each such movement with right or left foot a half turn is made. The rhythm of the dance is kept by swaying the body gently from the waist, the hands (when not beating the body or holding an object) being allowed to swing freely; with each half turn forward the body is inclined forward and the head bent so that the hair falls over the face, and with each half turn backwards the head is thrown backwards. The dance always begins slowly and gently, the back foot still touching the ground while that foot with which the step has been made performs the double pat, so that just at first it is little more than a shuffle, soon, however, the feet are raised more and more and longer paces are taken, the back foot no longer remains on the ground while the double pat is made and the swaying and bending of the body is greatly increased.

When the *yaka* enters the person of a shaman it is customary 535 for him to inspect the offerings, and if he is pleased—which is 787 almost invariably the case—he will show his pleasure. This is usually done by bending the head low over the offering, then

535 springing away and shouting "Ah! Ah!" while taking short
deep breaths. The natural outcome of the *yaka's* gratitude is
787 a promise of favours to the community. When prophesying
good luck, the shaman places one or both hands on the
participant's shoulders, or if he carries an *aude* or other sacred
object, the shaman holds this against the latter's chest or, more
rarely, presses it on the top of his head. His whole manner is
agitated and he usually shuffles his feet, speaks in a hoarse
somewhat guttural voice taking short deep breaths, and
punctuates his remarks with a deep "Ah! Ah!"

With regard to the arrows and other special objects which
787 are used when invoking the *yaku*, in which class we include such
778 bower-like structures as the *alutyakagama*, the *rusvala* and the
535 *kolomaduwa*, all described in this Chapter, we must point out that
these simply act as conductors and resting places for the *yaku*.
It was stated that Kande Yaka could not and would not come
when invoked, unless his arrow were held, and the same idea
accounts for the arrow dance, performed round an arrow struck
in the ground in order to obtain game. Again the leaves in
the bower-like structures with the aid of which the *yaku* were
invoked were considered the resting place of the *yaku* which
they left in order to enter the shaman. The number of *yaku*
who came to the bower was not thought to be limited to those
who possessed the shaman, on the contrary, important *yaku* were
thought to bring their attendants (*piriwari*), who remained
among the leaves which their lord left to possess the shaman,
and it was to drive away the *yaku* who might unduly prolong
their stay in the bower prepared for them, that the leaves were
beaten and more or less stripped from the bowers at the end of
the ceremony.

Before leaving the subject we would point out that though
778 *yaku* might be spoken of as arrow-yaka (Itale Yaka), bow-yaka
(Dunne Yakini) and so forth, such names do not imply that the
*yaka* in question is immanent in the object or is believed to
stand in specially close relationship to all objects of that class.
In the case of Itale Yaka the idea was "the *yaka* who is invoked
by means of an arrow"; in the case of Dunne Yakini the name
simply refers to the skill of the nameless heroine who killed the

boar wounded by the companions of Bandura, as is related in 778
the Bambura Yaka dance.

The Henebedda Veddas washed before performing or assisting 787
at the *kirikoraha* seen by us, and every Vedda who invoked the 531
*yaku*, either let down his hair before beginning to dance or while
dancing, in the latter instance presumably as he felt "possession" 291
coming upon him. Many Veddas put on the *hangala* before [5.5]
dancing, this being a length of white cloth worn round the waist as is shown in many of the photographs reproduced in this chapter. Presumably this was not worn for the arrow dance, which is especially performed by unsuccessful hunters without any special preparation. We do not think that a leaf girdle was ever worn as a ceremonial garment when dancing. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya said that at some time, which he put more than three generations ago, there were Veddas, whom he called *Attukola Veddo*, who lived so remote from the Sinhalese that they had no cloth and so always wore leaf girdles, but he was quite confident that no Veddas who had cloth ever wore such girdles especially to invoke the *yaku*. This agrees with Nevill's conclusions[1] and does not conflict with the experience of the Sarasins[2].

The Roman numbers in parentheses after references to invocations in the accounts of the ceremonies described in this chapter refer to the invocations given in Chapter X.

## THE ARROW DANCE.

This, the simplest of the Vedda dances, has been described 535
at length by the Drs Sarasin who saw it danced by "Veddas of the Nilgala district[3]." We have already quoted Bailey's account of the arrow dance as he found it danced by the ancestors of these Veddas two generations ago, and Monsieur Emile

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[1] "I have especially questioned the best informed Vaeddas whether leaves were worn, either at ceremonies or otherwise. They all say yes, they were worn once, when cotton cloth was hard and dear to get, by those who lived where there were no Riti trees. They were only worn by the poorest, and from necessity, not choice. The leaves chosen were those of shrubs, the branches of which ended in rather pendulous sprays of foliage, and these were tucked under the waist string as a sort of apron." (*Op. cit.* p. 188.)

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 383—389.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 512—514.

535 Deschamps has given an account of the same dance as it occurs among the village Veddas of Bintenne, while it has also been mentioned by other authors including Davy and Tennant.

Figures 1 and 2 of Plate XXVI show this dance as we saw it performed at Henebedda. An arrow was thrust into the ground and round this the Veddas circled, singing an invocation and keeping time by slapping their flanks with their open hands. The Drs Sarasin have carefully analysed the movements performed in this dance, and the following account is taken from their work.

"Only men dance. They form a circle round an arrow thrust into the ground; they do not touch one another and move slowly round the arrow....Each dancer turns once towards the left, in doing which he keeps the right leg motionless and steps convulsively forwards on the ground with the left, keeping time and giving the body a slight jerk backwards; then when he has executed a half turn he remains standing on the left leg and makes spasmodic trembling movements with the right as he pushes off from the ground. Thus continually executing half turns, and after completing one half turn using that leg which has just been moved as a support, the dancer slowly proceeds backwards in a circle round the arrow. Each dancer pays no regard to his neighbour while executing his circling movements, his sole object being to get round the arrow in the manner described; so that all the dancers are not making precisely the same movement at one time. For example, if one dancer turns on his left leg and his neighbour on his right leg at the same time then it happens that the two sometimes have their faces and sometimes their backs towards each other....Although the legs, as described, come comparatively little and at all events not extensively into play, there being no jumping or hopping...the arms are moved the more vigorously. As the body swings round they are extended and flung about and at the conclusion of the turn they are violently flung away from the body; after the performance of every half turn the dancers beat hard on their bellies, which take the place of musical instruments of which they have none....The head which

Plate XXVI

Fig. 1. *Arrow dance* (Henebédda)

Fig. 2. *Arrow dance* (Henebedda)

[facing p. 214]

is thrown back at the completion of every turn is flung forward and downward in the direction of the movement while this is taking place. In doing this the mane-like bush of hair is tossed forwards like a horse's tail over the face; subsequently on the completion of every half turn it is tossed back again as the head is flung back, so that the hair is constantly being swung through the air from the right back to the left front and vice versa; this happens independently of the direction of movement round the arrow....As the dancers at the same time gasp out loudly a monotonous song with which their movements keep time—they work themselves up into a state of extreme nervous excitement and the sweat pours down them; the beating on the stomach becomes louder and louder...then after a time one after another falls full length on the ground exhausted, and remains on his back for a time still uttering howls between his gasps and trembling convulsively at the same time in all his limbs. Then suddenly all rise at once and the dance is at an end[1]."

Although this account shows that the dance performed for the Sarasins was rather more vigorously enacted than the one danced for our benefit, it recalls in violence of gesture the figures of a dance which we saw at Wellampelle among the village Veddas. One of these men evidently knew what was expected of him by strangers, for almost directly he saw us he began to dance and soon lay quivering on the ground. Obviously such exhibitions as this are not examples of genuine possession, nor was the arrow dance we saw at Henebedda which was danced at our request, and we believe that all, or almost all, the arrow dances described in literature must simply be regarded as more or less accurate rehearsals[2].

Further, the accounts given by various authors show that the dances they saw were danced with varying degrees of frenzy, the difference in some instances being so marked as to give force to the Sarasins' suggestion that the arrow dance varies in detail in different communities.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 512, 513.

[2] The pantomime of honey gathering enacted *for* our benefit by the Henebedda Veddas, and those of Sitala Wanniya, show that the Veddas are good actors and enter thoroughly into the spirit of the parts they take.

535 787 We were told at Bandaraduwa that if men had no luck in hunting they might thrust an arrow into the ground, decorate it with leaves of the *na* tree (*Mesua ferruginea*) or the *milla*, and dance round it. If a shaman were present, which was not necessary, he would naturally take part in this, and any number might participate. This dance was performed at our request, the shaman and a Vedda called Tambia taking part in it. Two clusters of *na* leaves were tied to an arrow, one just below the feathers and another immediately above the blade. This was struck in the ground (Plate XXVII, fig. 1) and the dancers slowly moved round it singing an invocation (No. xv). Soon they both became possessed, the shaman falling into the arms of his supporter (Plate XXVII, fig. 2), almost immediately after which he came to one of the onlookers and promised him a sambar deer if he would hunt in a westerly direction early the next morning. Several times during the dance the performers touched the leaves tied to the upper part of the arrow, and bending low gathered them up to their faces (as in Plate XXVIII, fig. 1), while their hair mingled with the leaves. The shaman afterwards explained that the *yaka* first came to the arrow and the leaves tied to it, and then entered the persons of the dancers who became possessed. Before the *yaka* left the dancers bent low over the arrow shaking their heads violently, and after the dance both men salaamed to the arrow.

776 The *yaka* invoked in this dance was sometimes called Itale Yaka (Arrow Yaka), and though identical with Kande Yaka, there was nevertheless a tendency to think of Itale Yaka as a separate spirit, who was not so generally well disposed as Kande Yaka. We discovered this by the shaman refusing to sing the invocation into the phonograph when we were surrounded by children, lest his attention being attracted, the *yaka* should come, which might be dangerous to the little ones. It must be [197] remembered that the Bandaraduwa community had been much exposed to foreign influence, so that there is nothing surprising in their *yaku* having to a certain extent assumed the dangerous complexion of Sinhalese and Tamil demons.

535 Although the arrow dance originally had, and still has, a religious significance, since it is danced to procure game and as

Plate XXVII

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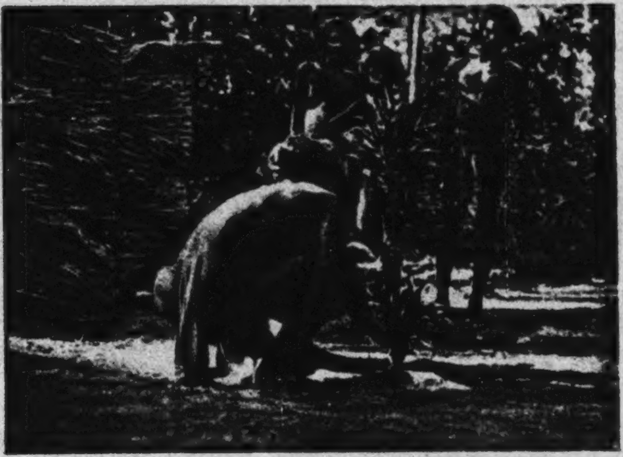

Fig. 1. Itale Yaka ceremony. Arrow with *Na* leaves attached (Bandaraduwa)*

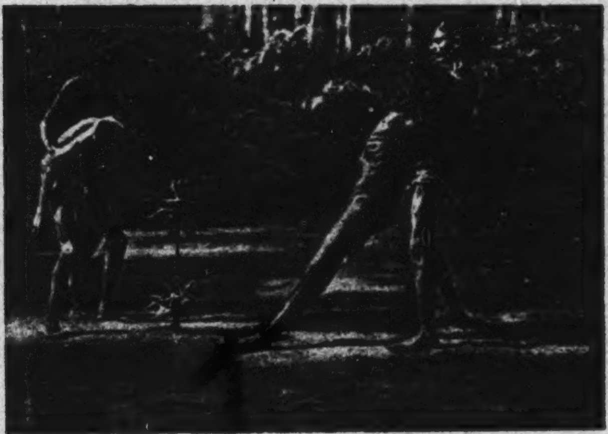

Fig. 2. Itale Yaka ceremony (Bandaraduwa)*

[facing p.216a]

Plate XXVIII

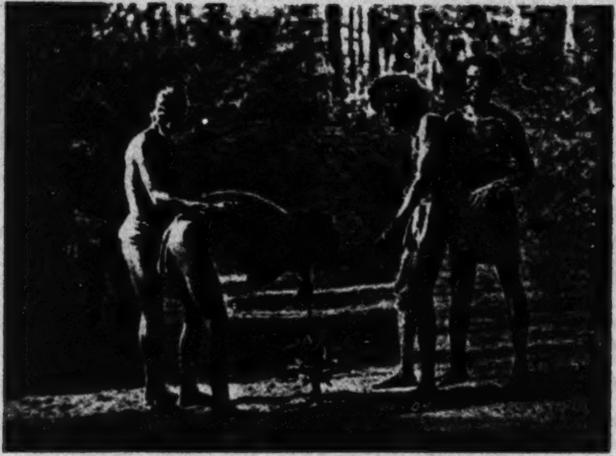

Fig. 1. Itale Yaka ceremony (Bandaraduwa)*

[516]

Fig. 2. The Adukku Denawa ceremony (Henebedda)

[facing p.216B]

a means of propitiating Kande Yaka or interesting him in the hunters, it may also be danced for pleasure. In this case it seems to lose much of its peculiar character and tends to degenerate into a dance made up of fragments of the dances proper to a number of different ceremonies, which varies in constitution according to the fancy of the dancers. But that such performances are derived from ceremonial dances is shown by the imitation of the actions of the shaman which one or more of the dancers may introduce.

The dance we cite next was performed in the courtyard of the Public Works Department bungalow at Ambilinne, where we gave a night's lodging to four of the Henebedda Veddas. These were some of the first Veddas we met and the dance they performed that evening was the first Vedda dance we had seen, and it was not until we had seen a number of Vedda ceremonies that we recognised that the dance in question was a parody of their own religious dances, performed for their own amusement after what was to them an unusually good meal[1].

After a little singing three or four men began to dance, the time being about 9 p.m. Their action was quite unconstrained, and each man went his own way, though a rhythm was supplied by the song refrain and the slapping of their hands on their chests and flanks. In the opening figure, in which an arrow was planted in the ground, the performers began to move round it right hands inwards and clockwise, but very soon one performer was circling anti-clockwise between the other two going clockwise. The two performers who had not planted their arrows held these in their hands in front of them, one hand lightly grasping the blade and the other the head of the arrow, while with body somewhat bent forward they moved the arrows from side to side as they danced. The steps were taken with legs tolerably wide apart, the weight of the body being supported on one leg while the other was scraped along the ground by somewhat tilting the pelvis. This movement took place alternately on the two legs, though sometimes a double pat was substituted

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[1] In this respect our dance resembles that witnessed by M. Deschamps (*Au Pays des Veddas*, pp. 387, 388), which was danced spontaneously by a number of village Veddas of Bintenne.

535 for the simple scrape of the ground. After some time when the circle had become quite broken the three dancers grunted loudly "Oh-h-h," and held their arrows up to the sky toward which they waved them before suddenly falling flat on their backs. They were lifted up and supported by a companion, and they then approached the Sinhalese headman who was present and promised him and one of us a white buffalo each for the next day. This was done in a manner we afterwards recognised to have been an excellent imitation of the actions of one possessed by the *yaku*, though it is certain that this dance was not a real possession dance; while the condition of the pulse in the dancers, surprisingly quiet in view of the violent exercise they had taken, showed that the falling down was not due to exhaustion. In other figures no arrow was planted in the ground and the dance did not begin with a circular movement; in some of these figures the point of the arrow which is in the right hand may be lowered almost to the ground, and the obliquely inclined arrow swept forward and backward perhaps in imitation of a shaman possessed by Kande Yaka tracking the sambar in the manner described in the account of the *kirikoraha*.

## THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

796 The pantomimic ceremonial dance by which the favour of the spirits (*yaku*) of the hunting hero Kande Wanniya and his brother Bilindi is secured is called *kirikoraha*. It must be noted that this term, literally translated, signifies "milk bowl," and though the presentation to the *yaku* of a *kirikoraha*, i.e. a pot containing coconut milk, is essential in several other ceremonies they were not called *kirikoraha*. The "milk" consists of the [272] fluid which can be squeezed from the shredded meat of the coconut and is mixed with water. If the coconut juice be not diluted excessively the fluid so produced has a very pleasant flavour, and in appearance is not unlike milk[1]. Whenever "milk" is spoken of as offered to the *yaku* this fluid is meant: the "water" of the coconut is not valued, and though it may be used in preparing the milk instead of water (as was the case at

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[1] This is the usual method throughout Ceylon of making the coconut milk so largely used as a flavouring agent.

the Henebedda *kirikoraha*) it is usually poured on the ground 796
without any ceremony.

A description of the phenomena of "possession" of the Vedda 796
shaman by the *yaku* has already been given in Chapter VI, so 787
that nothing need be said on that matter in connection with this dance or any of the ceremonies described in this chapter, in all of which "possession" occurred.

The essential features of the *kirikoraha* are two in number. The first of these is the offering of coconut milk and generally [782]
of other food to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka and sometimes other *yaku* regarded as their attendants. Secondly the pantomimic representation by the shaman, while possessed by Kande Yaka, of Kande Wanniya tracking and shooting a sambar deer. This pantomime seems to occur only when "possession" by Kande Yaka takes place, for whenever any pantomime of this sort was enacted, even in the most shortened and conventional form, as in the Nae Yaku ceremony (described on pp. 233 to 237 of this chapter), the shaman was held to be possessed by Kande Yaka.

We witnessed four *kirikoraha* ceremonies during our stay in 796
the Vedda country. One was performed by the Henebedda Veddas in thanksgiving for a fine buck which one of them had shot, and the other three were undertaken at our request, but we have no doubt that they were accurately performed; for the Veddas were always pleased to perform any ceremonial dance provided the correct offering were given, as thereby they gained the favour of the *yaku*, and it was seldom that they were able to offer such food as we gave them for the purpose. The *kirikoraha* ceremony appears to be held equally as a thanksgiving for game killed and in order to obtain success in the future.

**The Kirikoraha at Bendiyagalge.** A fine buck was killed late in the afternoon of the 7th of February, 1908, and was carried to a flat rock between our camp and the Bendiyagalge caves and rapidly skinned and cut up during the short tropical twilight. A *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed the next morning, before taking part in which all the men went to the neighbouring stream and bathed, and afterwards made an offering of food to the *yaku*.

796 Some rice with coconut and chillies had previously been cooked at the cave together with certain portions of the deer, the flesh from the head, sternum and front of the ribs, and the whole was brought down to the *talawa*. This food formed the offering (*aduk*), and the ceremony of *adukku denawa* or "offering the food" was performed before the dance began. The shaman, Randu Wanniya, squatted in front of the food, and with his hands together repeated a dedicatory invocation to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, which lasted nearly ten minutes, and consisted mainly, if not entirely, of repetitions of invocation No. XIX. It was performed in gratitude for all deer and sambar killed, and in it the *yaku* were invited to accept the offering of food which was left for them for a short time and afterwards eaten by the Veddas themselves. Fig. 2 of Plate XXVIII shows the shaman invoking the *yaku* with the offering in front of him. This ceremony, called *adukku denawa* (literally "the giving of cooked food"), is always held before a *kirikoraha* when game has been killed, but it is not itself part of the latter ceremony.

An open part of the *talawa* near the caves was selected as a dancing ground, and a tripod called *mukkaliya* was made by binding three sticks together on which an earthen pot, the *kirikoraha*, was placed, and a ceremonial arrow (*aude*) laid upon it.

The shaman took a coconut and the *aude*, held them to his head and salaamed while Poromala smeared some resin on a stick and afterwards censed the *aude* which was held so that the smoke might eddy round it, for thus would Kande Yaka smell the incense and be pleased (Plate XXIX, fig. 1). At the same time the shaman repeated the invocation (No. XIX) to Kande Yaka.

This appeared to be one of the many incidents pointing to the fact that when *yaku* are invoked they first come to their special vehicles (Kande always to an *aude*, other *yaku* to leaves, swords and various articles), and from these enter the person of the shaman.

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All sang the invocation, and the shaman danced round the tripod holding the *aude* and coconut together in both hands and waving them rhythmically as he performed the orthodox Vedda step, i.e. one pace with each foot followed by a couple of pats on the ground with the ball of the same foot, every step being

Plate XXIX

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[417]

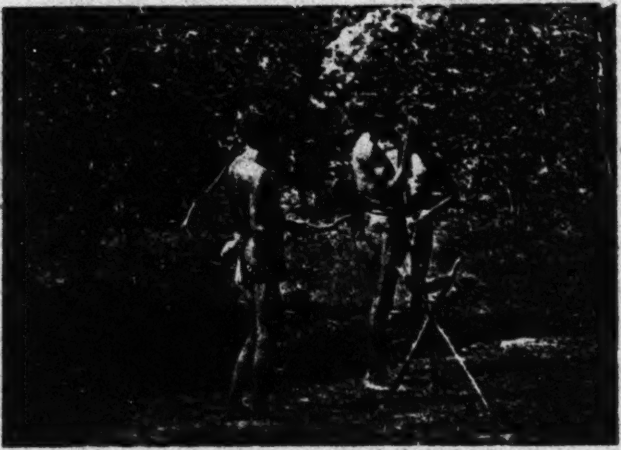

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, censing the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p. 22[illegible]]

Plate XXX

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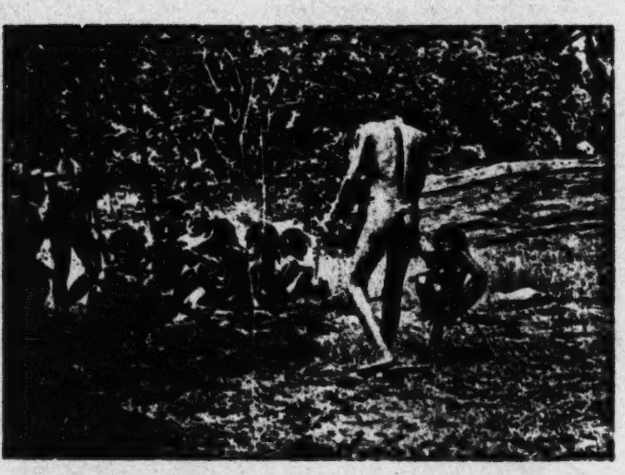

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman dances with the *aude* and coconut (Henebedda)

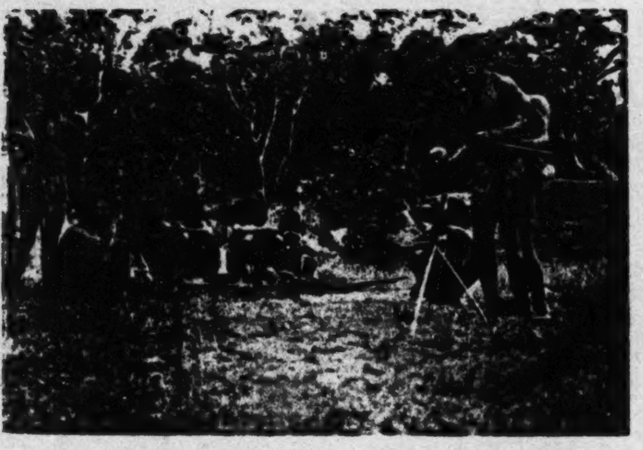

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman breaking the coconut (Henebedda)

[facing p. 220b]

followed by a half turn of the body to the accompaniment of 796 sounds produced by some of those who were not dancing slapping 787 their sides. The shaman next sang the invocation to Bilindi 535 Yaka (No. XXI), and after a short time he showed signs of becoming possessed; he shivered and shook his head, and with the *aude* in his right hand he struck the coconut which he held in his left and broke it in half (Plate XXX, fig. 2), letting the water fall into the *kirikoraha*. The way in which the nut split was prophetic; if a clean break was made the animal to be promised later would be a female, but if the edges were jagged a male would be shot. The shaman was now possessed by Bilindi Yaka, and with half the nut in each hand came to each of us in turn, placed his arms on our shoulders, and in the hoarse gasping voice of the *yaka* promised us good hunting and protection from wild animals.

Two of the younger Veddas, Poromala and Sita Wanniya, scraped the meat of the coconut with the *aude* to make the milk, and afterwards placed one half shell on the end of one of the sticks forming the tripod, and the other below the *kirikoraha*. Leaves taken from any tree, but said to represent betel leaves, were also placed in the *kirikoraha*. There was no reason for the particular position of the coconut shells, but as they were considered part of the offering to the *yaku*, it would have been considered disrespectful to the *yaku* to place them on the ground. This rule was observed in all the dances that we witnessed. All sang the invocation again, and the shaman, Randu Wanniya, continued to dance, holding the handle of the *aude* in the right hand and the point of the blade in the left, turning it with a rotatory movement as he danced, gradually swaying his body more and more and lifting his feet higher from the ground. He went to the *kirikoraha* and inspected the milk, letting it run through his fingers (Plate XXXI, fig. 1), and dropping some on the *aude* to see if it was rich enough. Apparently he was satisfied with its quality, and soon he fell back into the arms of Sita Wanniya who supported him. After a short time he revived with much quivering of muscles and gasping for breath, and taking a handful of the coconut milk he shouted and approached Tissahami the Vedda Arachi[1] (who

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[1] This man, concerning whom something has been said on p. 41, was known to

796 was then staying in our camp) and scattered the milk over him, 535 while with the right hand on his shoulder he expressed his pleasure in seeing him and promised him luck in hunting. 787 Then after prophesying good hunting to each of us in turn and to several of the Veddas, Bilindi Yaka left the shaman.

Randu Wanniya again danced eastward round the *kirikoraha*, holding the *aude* in both hands, but soon he began to crouch and point it to the ground, and then pretended to thrust it at imaginary footprints (Plate XXXI, fig. 2). His excited manner showed that he was now possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he represented following the slot of a sambar. Soon Sita Wanniya took the *aude* away from him and gave him a bow and arrow, and the tracking continued amidst intense excitement (Plate XXXII, fig. 1). Sita Wanniya followed closely, ready to support the shaman if he should fall, while others pointed out the slot to him till at last, a basket having been placed on the ground, he drew his bow and transfixed it.

796 Plate XXXII, fig. 2 shows the group round the shaman as the arrow left the bow. 787 As the arrow sped the shaman fell back seemingly exhausted and almost senseless. The *yaka* did not, however, finally depart from the shaman, but merely went to the quarry to ascertain if his arrow had proved fatal. The shaman soon came to himself, apparently satisfied, and bent his head (Plate XXXIII, fig. 1) over the *kirikoraha*, and then shouting "Ah, ah!" in the usual agitated manner of one possessed by the *yaku* came to each of us in turn and placed the *aude* on our heads, thereby granting us jungle favour, after which he went to several of the Veddas prophesying good luck in hunting to each of them (Plate XXXIII, fig. 2). Then taking the half shells of the coconut in either hand and waving them about, he danced round the *kirikoraha* and bent his head over the pot so that the *yaka* might drink, and afterwards fell into the arms of Sita Wanniya, who had been following, ready to support him. Again the shaman revived, and, putting his arms on our interpreter, promised him victory in all undertakings. Then returning to the *kirikoraha*, and having given the *aude* to one of

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the Henebedda community and was much respected both because of his Vedda blood and because of his renown as a charmer and medicine man (*vederala*).

Plate XXXI

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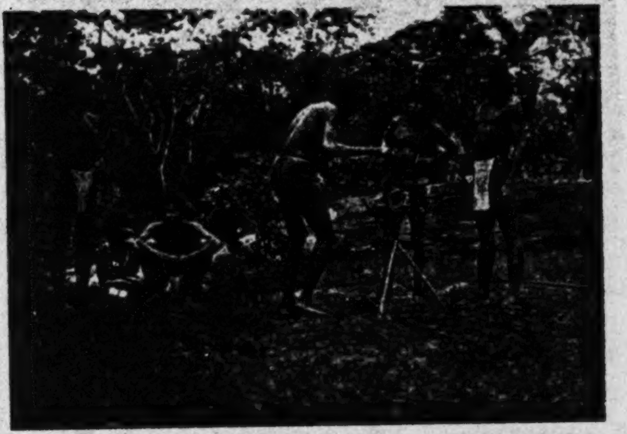

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman examines the offering of coconut milk (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman tracking the sambar (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222]

Plate XXXII

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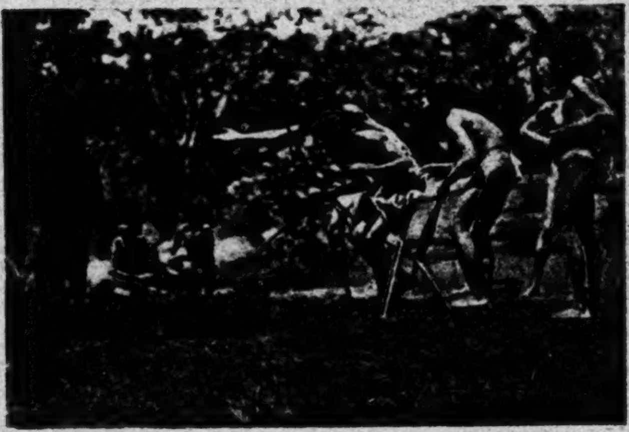

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman tracking the sambar (Henebedda)

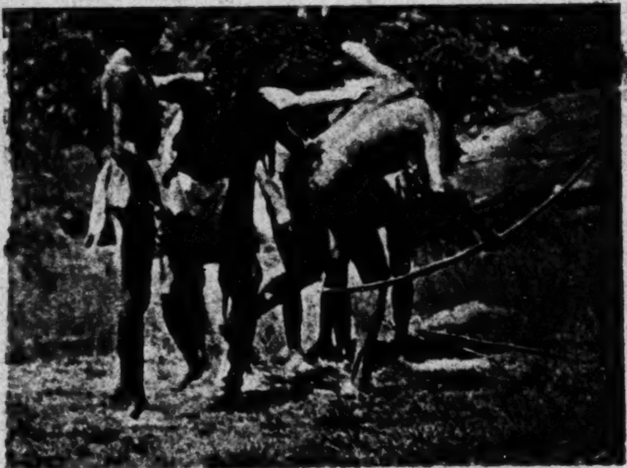

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman shoots the sambar (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222 b]

Plate XXXIII

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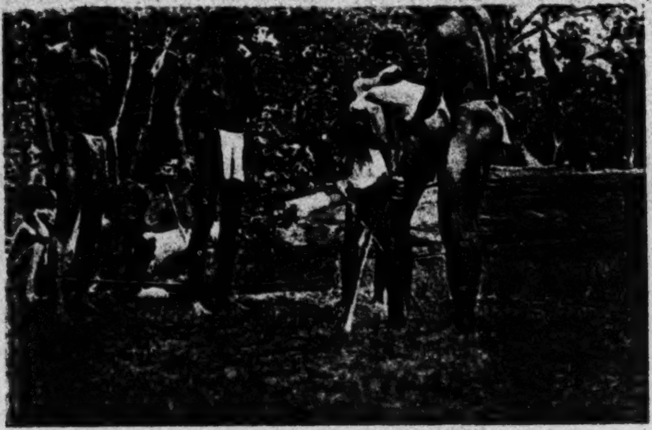

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman bends his head over the coconut milk (Henebedda)

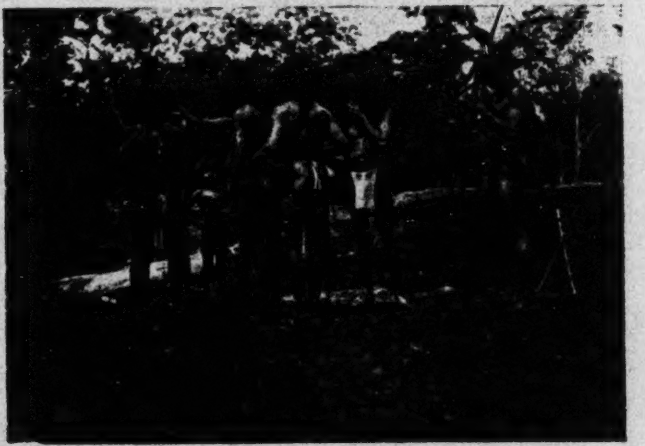

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman possessed by Bilindi Yaka promises good hunting (Henebedda)

[facing p. 222]

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Plate XXXIV

Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman about to spin the pot (Henebedda)

[facing p.222d]

he onlookers, who were all willing assistants, he filled the palms 796
f his hands with milk and bounded forward, and raising his 787
ands with every step he scattered the milk, and in this manner
he *yaka* within him showed his pleasure. Next he took the
*irikoraha* from the tripod with both hands (Plate XXXIV,
ig. 1), spun it on the ground, and immediately it left his
ands he fell back. The spinning was prophetic, for in that
irection towards which the bowl dipped as it came to rest, there
ame would be found; and on this occasion it dipped to the
orth. When the shaman revived a few seconds later, Kande
Yaka had left him, and he was possessed by Bilindi Yaka again.
With shouts, gasping and trembling, he came to most of the
nlookers and promised good hunting in the usual manner, then
e took the *kirikoraha* and spun it, but when it left his hands the
pirit departed from the shaman and he fell back.

The dance was now over, and all were eager to partake of 796
he coconut milk which had been offered to the *yaku*, for none of 562
t might be wasted. All the men took a little, and also fed the 783
children with it, but the women were not allowed to partake of
t. However, as the mere contact of the milk had virtue the
haman rubbed some on their heads. In other less sophisticated
ommunities women were not looked upon as unclean, and they
hared in this and other food offered to the *yaku*. As has
lready been stated there is little doubt that the idea of [177]
omen being unclean has been borrowed from the Sinhalese,
mong whom it is very strongly held. A little of the contents
f the *kirikoraha* might also be rubbed on the heads of the dogs
hich were supposed to be more likely to hunt successfully
fter this.

The Kirikoraha at Sitala Wanniya. Kande Yaka, 796
Bilindi Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were all invoked at the
*irikoraha* held at Sitala Wanniya. Indigollae was held to
e the principal attendant of Kande Yaka, and though the
nvocation sung to him refers to "seven pots of blood" our
nformants were unable to give us any meaning for this[1].

Handuna, the shaman of the Sitala Wanniya community, did

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[1] This matter is briefly discussed in Chapter X after the invocation (No. xxxiii) to
digollae Yaka.

796 not possess an *aude*, having given his to a white man who knew not its value, but since an *aude* must be used when invoking Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, Handuna unfastened the blade from one of his shooting arrows to represent an *aude*. Having put on the *hangala* he burnt some resin and censed the *kirikoraha*. This had been placed on a support of the usual form in the centre of the dancing ground, and the arrow blade and some betel leaves had been placed in it. Two pots of boiled rice had been placed upon a small platform or altar (*maessa*) which had been built for, and used in, another ceremony.

The shaman raised the coconut and salaamed to the
796 *kirikoraha* and then danced round and round it, singing the
535 invocation given in Chapter X (No. XVI) and exhibiting the
787 nut to the *yaku* and thrusting at the pot as he danced though
not actually hitting it. The step was the usual one with many
half turns and performed clockwise. Handuna now invoked
Bilindi Yaka (Chapter X, invocation No. XVIII) and soon he
fell back and was supported for a few seconds, but revived
almost immediately, when he became possessed by Bilindi
Yaka. An axe was given him by one of the Veddas with which
he hit the coconut so as to split it, letting the water pour out on
the ground. Then with a half coconut in each hand he danced
up to Vela shouting "Houh! houh!" and held the nuts against
his chest while with head bent and body swaying he said,
"You have offered me coconut, and I have come, why did you
call me?" For coconut, instead of the usual word *pol* he used
*sudu ewa*, literally "the white one" or "the white thing." Again
he danced round the pot and bent his head low over it, in this
way showing his satisfaction with the offering. Whilst he
continued to dance Vela and Kaira made the coconut milk,
putting the remains of the flesh of the nut on the pots of rice
which had been placed on the *maessa*. Handuna now took the
arrow blade from the *kirikoraha* and danced with it, holding its
ends in either hand and twirling it round between his fingers;
taking it in his right hand, he stabbed sharply at the pot as
he danced round it, taking care, however, never to hit the pot.
He dipped the arrow into the pot and examined the milk on the

blade, then scattered it to show that he was pleased, shouting 796
several times *Has Bilindi! Has Bilindi!* to which Kaira always 535
answered *diwas* or "Lord." He danced again, stretching alter- 787
nately his right and left arms, and about this time Bilindi Yaka left and Kande Yaka entered him without any outward signs, so that we did not recognise the change which had taken place until presently he danced round the *kirikoraha* with one arm extended and holding the arrow blade by its centre. We were told that he was possessed by Kande Yaka, who in his person performed the traditional pantomime of tracking the sambar by its slots, pointing at them with the arrow. This scene was not acted so thoroughly as it was at Bendiyagalge. Handuna picked up a few leaves and held them across the arrow to represent a bow whilst he crouched in a position ready to shoot; then, dipping his hand in the *kirikoraha* he dropped some milk on the leaves and got up and danced. Filling the palms of his hands with the milk he went to Kaira and said: "The sambar you shall shoot shall bleed like this milk dripping." Coming to one of us he placed one arm on his shoulder, holding a betel leaf moist with milk in the other outstretched hand, and prophesied sambar to the bow of Kaira. With head slightly thrown back and rapt expression he told of Indigollae and the seven pots of blood—and now it seemed that Kande Yaka went and Indigollae Yaka came[1]. Before going back to the *kirikoraha* Handuna gave one of us (C.G.S.) a betel leaf as a sign of favour, and then taking another from the *kirikoraha* he allowed some milk to drip over it before he let it fall to the ground. Then with the arrow head he made two slits in the leaf not quite extending to the base, and again dipped it in the milk. Next he went to Vela and passed the slit leaf slowly over his head and finally slapped it on his chest. He did the same thing to Kaira with an uncut leaf, and it was noted that when the leaves fell to the ground off the men's chests they were picked up carefully and put in the *kirikoraha*. The cuts in the leaf denoted that the sambar promised to Vela would be horned. The manner in which the leaf falls is also considered prophetic; when, as in this case, it falls with its

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[1] His invocation is given in Chapter X, No. XXXII.

under surface upwards, the quarry will take long to kill; if, on
796 the other hand, the leaf fall with its upper surface upwards,
535 death will be speedy.

787 After this Handuna again danced round the *kirikoraha*, holding the arrow in it, and showed his favour to each of the male onlookers by passing a milky betel leaf over their heads and placing it on their chests. This was repeated several times alternating with dances and quiverings over the pot before Handuna finally shook his head over the pot and fell back with a shout, the *yaka* having left him.

Now Indigollae Yakini, the wife of Indigollae Yaka, was invoked, and we were told that Kaira who performed this dance would have worn beads on his wrists had he possessed them. He danced in the usual way round the *kirikoraha* with the arrow head which transfixed a betel leaf in one hand, when suddenly dropping his head over the *kirikoraha* he shouted and apparently became possessed by the *yakini*. Gasping and shaking he went to both Handuna and Vela and put milky betel leaves on their chests, and spoke to them, raising his arms alternately and shuffling his feet. He returned to the pot and danced, stretching his arms and then crossing them across his body as he would have done had he been holding a couple of *aude*, swaying his body and moving vigorously. Several times he bent over the *kirikoraha* and each time leapt back with a shout and danced again. At last Handuna pointed to the offering of rice on the *maesa*, which he approached and inspected while gasping and shaking, then evidently satisfied with this he sprang forward to the *kirikoraha*, dropped his head over it and fell back exhausted, but no longer possessed by any *yaka*.

The Kirikoraha at Uniche. The *kirikoraha* performed at Maha Oya by Wannaku of Uniche seemed to be intermediate between the ceremony of the wilder Veddas where the original idea, namely Kande Yaka tracking the elk, was the dominant feature, and that danced by the village Veddas at Unuwatura Bubula where this *motif* was omitted.

A *maesa* was built (though not elaborated into a *bulutyahana* as at Unuwatura Bubula), a white cloth was laid over it and betel leaves, areca nuts, bananas, coconuts, and two pots of

cooked rice were placed on it, as well as the *kirikoraha* itself 796
containing the coconut milk, in which two *aude* had been 535
placed. All these offerings were then covered with a red cloth, 787
the red colour being said to be necessary.

Before describing the dance it must be explained that the Uniche Veddas had come to Maha Oya, some twenty-four miles from their home, and the shaman had not brought his *aude* with him, so we offered to lend him two, a small one we had collected at Unuwatura Bubula, and a particularly fine one lent to us by Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, the Sinhalese headman already referred to, who in his youth had lived a great deal among Veddas, and from whom he had received the *aude*. This *aude*, evidently an old one, pleased Wannaku greatly and he exclaimed with joy: "This is indeed an *aude* for Kande Yaka[1]." We did not tell him whence we had obtained them, but he seemed impressed that a white man should possess such a good Vedda *aude*.

Wannaku put on the *hangala* and salaamed to the *maessa*, and whilst the drum was beaten sang the invocation given in Chapter X, No. XXII, to Bilindi Yaka. He danced in front of the *maessa* facing east, slowly at first, but gradually he began to sway his body more rapidly and with greater vigour and soon became possessed by Bilindi Yaka. The shaman now picked up the large *aude* and, after dancing with it in his hands for a few seconds, flung it from him to the ground with disgust, exclaiming angrily: "This is not my arrow, this has been used by a Sinhalese." Someone handed him the small *aude* and he seemed satisfied and danced with this. Of course it was quite possible for Wannaku to have discovered the history of the *aude* from our servants or from the villagers, or it may even have been mentioned quite casually in conversation with them and not have made much impression on him at the time, but flashing into consciousness in the excitement of the dance it may have appeared an important and till then unknown fact. On questioning Wannaku after the dance he denied any previous knowledge but said quite simply that he was possessed

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[1] However, when the dance took place the next day he used this *aude* when invoking Bilindi Yaka.

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by Bilindi Yaka and "as a man knows his own betel pouch so Bilindi Yaka would know his own *aude*."

The shaman bent his head over the *kirikoraha* and inspected it, then putting his hand into it he scattered the milk on the ground two or three times, before filling his palm with milk and letting it fall over the *aude*, in this way testing the quality of the offering. With the arrow in one hand he stood in front of the *maesa* shaking and shouting. Now he took a betel leaf from the *kirikoraha*, fixed it on the point of the *aude* and as a sign of favour put this on an old Vedda's chest, asking at the same time why he had been invoked: "Is anyone sick?" The old man replied that no one was ill, they had merely called him to take the offerings on the *maesa*. So the *yaka* was pleased and with rapt expression the shaman danced, and again dripped milk over the *aude*, saying at the same time that he must go. He repeated this several times, all the while quivering and gasping and saying that now he would leave, but before finally departing the spirit again showed favour to the old Vedda, influencing the shaman to put a milky betel leaf on his chest; then the shaman leapt back suddenly and the *yaka* left him.

After a short interval the shaman danced again and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka, whom he called by the invocation No. XVII; soon he made signs that he wanted something, when the Veddas understood that he lacked a second *aude*, and not having another, one of the Veddas gave him a knife, which the shaman preferred to the rejected *aude*. He held the *aude* and the knife crosswise, these now representing the bow and arrow of Kande Yaka, and dancing wildly the shaman feigned to test the imaginary bow, then leaning both arms on the *maessa* he shivered and shook, at the same time declaring that the bow was a strong and good one. Again holding the arrow blade and knife like a bow and arrow he followed the track of an imaginary sambar for a few yards; he pointed to a spot on the ground and said the next *kirikoraha* should be built there. Then taking some milk from the *kirikoraha* he let some fall on the arrow and spilled some on the ground, and we were told that this represented Kande Wanniya drinking after the kill. After a little more dancing the shaman fell back into the arms of his supporter and the spirit left him. 796 535 787

**The Kirikoraha at Unuwatura Bubula.** When dancing to Kande Yaka at Unuwatura Bubula the Veddas made a *bulatyahana* (Plate XXXV); this, we were told, would be built when invoking many *yaka*, but the *kirikoraha* would never be danced without it. The *bulatyahana* seemed to be an elaborated *maesa* with the framework carried up to form a back and slanting roof over which a cloth, specially kept for this purpose, was hung and fastened down. On the shelf of the *bulatyahana* two *aude* and a trident of the ordinary Hindu pattern were placed together with betel leaves and areca nut. The *kirikoraha* containing coconut milk and betel leaves stood on a rice-mortar beside it and a pot of cooked rice was put on the ground.

The shaman danced in front of the *bulatyahana* holding in his hands a new piece of cloth (a coloured handkerchief which we gave him) specially obtained for the purpose. He swayed his body and raised the cloth to his head while lifting his feet and patting the ground alternately with his right and left foot, but not moving from the front of the *bulatyahana*, that is to say confining his dancing to a space three or four feet long. He exchanged the handkerchief for the trident and placing a betel leaf on the point he danced with this and soon became possessed by Kande Yaka. Putting his hands into the *kirikoraha*, he examined the milk and expressed his satisfaction by shouting and clapping his hands. Again he danced to and fro in front of the *bulatyahana* with the trident in his hand. The *kirikoraha* was taken off the rice-mortar and put on the *bulatyahana*, and the pot of cooked rice was put in its place on the rice-mortar.

The dancer then approached a sick shaman who, as mentioned on p. 263, had coughed up a considerable amount of blood at the end of the *alutyakagama* ceremony performed previously, and fed him with some rice which he brought to him in a betel leaf. In this way Kande Yaka showed his benevolence towards the sick man, for it was considered that the *yaka* food would cure him. Returning to the *bulatyahana* the shaman quivered and shook his head and examined the 755

796 rice, then he came to us and in the usual agitated manner of
535 one possessed by the *yaku* said that he had come because we
787 had asked for him. After some more dancing a little longer in front of the *bulatyahana* and after much bending and shaking over it and the rice pot the *yaka* of Kande Wanniya left the shaman and the ceremony ended.

## NAE YAKU CEREMONIES.

The large part the *Nae Yaku* play in the life of the Veddas
769 and the great deference paid to them have been treated in the
535 chapters on religion. We witnessed two *Nae Yaku* ceremonies which took place at Sitala Wanniya and Bandaraduwa respectively. The Bandaraduwa ceremony was performed on the seventh day after the death of the individual whose spirit was invoked, and we were allowed to prepare a dancing ground in the jungle, where it seemed that a tolerably good series of photographs might be obtained. However, the Veddas were obviously apprehensive of the spirit of the deceased until the ceremony had taken place, and insisted on performing it early in the morning with the result that the photographs obtained were all underexposed. We have however thought it best to publish a number of these without retouching them, an exception being made in the case of the two photographs reproduced in Plates XXXVI, fig. 2, and XXXVIII, fig. 1, the value of which do not depend on the facial expression of the performers while they were so underexposed that all detail would have been lost in a reproduction.

The ceremony performed at Sitala Wanniya was danced expressly because we wished to see it, but Handuna, the most important man in this community, was delighted when w suggested that they should dance to the *Nae Yaku*, because h said it would please the *yaku*, for when alone the communit could seldom provide such good things to offer them as w promised to give.

**Nae Yaku Ceremony at Sitala Wanniya.** Althoug the Sitala Wanniya Veddas told us that the *Nae Yaku* cou not come without Kande Yaka, Kande Yaka was not invoked

Plate XXXV

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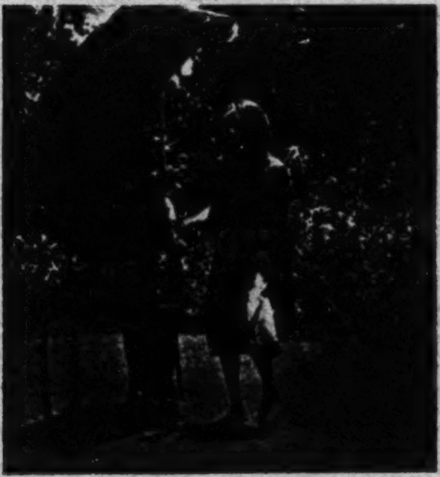

Fig. 1. Kirikoraha ceremony, the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

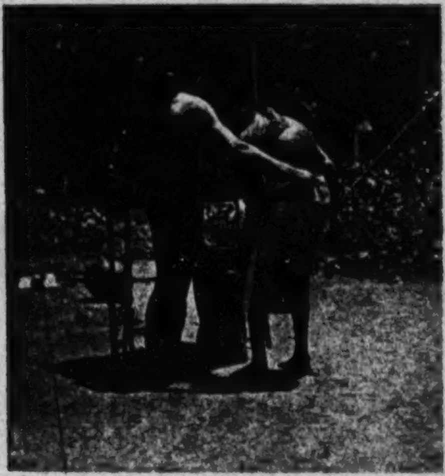

Fig. 2. Kirikoraha ceremony, the shaman before the *bulatyahana* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 230]

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the *Nae Yaku* ceremony that they performed for our benefit; the spirits of certain named relatives being called upon immediately. This may have been an omission caused by the ceremony having been begun in the spirit of a rehearsal (though it was certainly continued in earnest), but it seems more probable to us that this was not a mistake, as it was clearly stated that when a *Nae Yaka* is invoked for the first time after a death Kande Yaka is called upon at the beginning of the ceremony to bring the new *yaka*. The two *yaku* invoked at this ceremony were remembered by the community as influential men, and had probably been invoked frequently, and thus though still looked upon as attendants of Kande Yaka in a general way, they had probably gained a certain independence. Two pots of rice were cooked with coconut milk and placed on the *maesa* which was already in existence, having been built for one of the other dances, and an earthenware bowl of coconut milk was supported on a stake driven into the ground in the centre of the dancing plot. This bowl, the *kirikoraha*, was filled with coconut milk, and betel leaves were put in it. Kaira put on a hangalla, and held a piece of cloth in his hands. It was decided that the father-in-law of Handuna should be called, therefore an invocation was sung to him, and Kaira danced with the piece of cloth in his hand holding it at times over his head, and soon began to shout and leap showing that he was possessed. He went to Handuna, shouted and waved his cloth before him, and he too fell back and became possessed. There seemed to be no doubt that both Handuna and Kaira were considered to be possessed by the same *yaka*, i.e. by the spirit of the former's father-in-law Tuta Gamarale. Both bent their heads low over the *kirikoraha* and inspected the milk, then examined the offering of cooked rice, and returned to the *kirikoraha* quivering and gasping, and scattered some of the milk as a sign of pleasure. Then Kaira spoke to Vela in the low gasping voice of the *yaka* and stretched his arms towards Vela's child, who was suffering from yaws, and covered both the child and its mother with his cloth. He treated the other children in the same way, and also sprinkled coconut milk on their heads, and in the hurried *yaka* manner of one possessed smeared their faces with the milk, and we were told

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that this was the manner in which the *yaka* of Tuta Gamarale usually showed favour to his grandchildren. Handuna and Kaira both returned to the *kirikoraha*, and shivering and quaking they bent their heads over it, shaking their hair over their faces, then both danced wildly (Handuna with an arrow in his hand), scattering the milk about, in this way showing their satisfaction with the offerings prepared for them. Both Handuna and Kaira went to several of the Vedda onlookers, and waving their cloths promised luck in hunting or favour of some kind. Then coming to each of us, they said while shuffling their feet and shaking their cloths "My grandchildren called me to help them, now you are here too, do you help them also." After feeding some of the small children with coconut milk they both returned to the *kirikoraha* and bent their heads low over it, crying, "Oh," and fell back, and the *yaka* of Tuta Gamarale left them.

A good deal of discussion followed among the Veddas, as many considered that the father of Handuna should be invoked, but all declared they were too tired to dance. At last Handuna prevailed upon his son-in-law Kaira to dance, explaining to us that they seldom had such good food as that which they were able to offer to-day and it pleased the *yaku* greatly, so his father should be called to share it.

So Kaira took the handkerchief and danced again, soon becoming possessed by Huda the father of Handuna. After showing favour to the progeny of Huda as before by holding the cloth over their heads he fell supine into the arms of Vela and it seemed as if the *yaka* was about to depart. Some of the men and boys began immediately to repeat the invocation to prevent this from happening, and after some seconds of immobility Kaira began to tremble slightly, and raised his right hand limply, let it fall again, and once more became inert. Then all joined vigorously in the invocation, and the wife of Kaira smeared his face with coconut milk, and with the aid of a leaf-cone fed him with the milk, that is to say, she managed to convey a few drops into his mouth, but still he remained unmoved. As this was ineffectual several of the grandchildren of the man whose spirit possessed Kaira fed the latter in the same way;

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Vela did so also, with the result that Kaira dropped his head forward, shook violently and nodded his head sideways in a clumsy drunken fashion, and in a few seconds, still supported, jerked his limbs forwards and moved to the offering, after which he came back to where the women were standing and fell again into the arms of Vela. His chin was thrown back and his whole body trembled, while he gasped a word or two occasionally and fanned himself with his cloth vigorously. He held the cloth over the child suffering from yaws and promised to cure him, then putting both hands on Handuna he let his head fall on the latter's chest, and while trembling and shuffling his feet asked how Handuna fared. Handuna replied that game was scarce, and Kaira then spoke to the wife of Handuna and again to Handuna, and promised help. Then leaving Handuna he danced with wild leaping steps round the *kirikoraha* and gasped that now he must go and so leapt to the *maessa*, bent his head over the offering, and fell back exhausted. But he soon began to dance again, twirling the arrow blade between his fingers, till after a short time he returned to the *maessa*, and again bent his head over the offering; then with a great shout he took the pot of rice in both hands and spun it on the ground, and as he did so the *yaka* left him and he fell back.

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Spinning the pot had the same significance here as at Henebedda, the direction towards which the pot dipped showing where game would be found. In this instance the pot was so full of rice that it did not dip at all, but this was considered a good omen as game might be expected on all sides.

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After all was over Handuna took an arrow, and standing by the *maessa* pointed the arrow to the pots, and called upon all the *Nae Yaku* to feed. The pots were soon removed, the rice they contained was eaten, and the betel leaves from the *kirikoraha* chewed, but the milk in the *kirikoraha* was poured over a heap of twigs laid on the ground, being thus devoted to the *yaku*.

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Nae Yaku ceremony at Bandaraduwa. Some account has already been given in Chapter II of the abnormal conditions prevailing at Bandaraduwa, so it will only be necessary to touch lightly upon this subject here. Some twenty years back these Kovil Vanamai Veddas, of whom the Bandaraduwa Veddas

177 are the remains, lived much the same life as the Henebedda Veddas now live, and like them were in transition between 769 a purely hunting, honey-collecting life and the settled condition of the village Veddas who are mainly dependent on their chena produce. When we visited Bandaraduwa the Veddas were in a sorry condition and had settled down among the Sinhalese. It is true they dwelt in separate huts, but they were built on the same chena which had been allotted by the Government to them all, and like the Sinhalese they were paying taxes[1]. Naturally living in such close contact with the Sinhalese they have been influenced by them, and intermarriage has taken place, so that in many cases the Vedda identity has been lost. However, those of them who still considered themselves Veddas have retained a number of their old songs and many of their old customs, as comparison with the uncontaminated Sitala Wanniya Veddas showed. But even these customs, though Vedda at root, had been largely coloured and often overlaid by Sinhalese beliefs, so that when a death occurred not only was it necessary to make offering to the new Nae Yaka but it was equally important to propitiate the nearest Buddhist priest.

A *kirikoraha* was prepared in the usual way, and betel 769 leaves put in it as well as the coconut milk. The shaman 535 Tissahami, wearing a *hangala*, placed two *aude* on the *kirikoraha* and salaamed to the bowl. (Plate XXXVI, fig. 1.) Then he began to dance in the usual manner to the accompaniment of a drum played by a Vedda lad, first holding one *aude* and then one in each hand, that in the right hand being for Kande Yaka and that in the left for the *yaka* of the deceased Tuta. The use of the drum, which was of Sinhalese manufacture, must be regarded as an innovation, for although these people used them, and the Bendiyagalge people said they would if they had them, [177] the Sitala Wanniya Veddas declared that true Veddas never possessed or used a drum[2].

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[1] It must be remembered that about sixty years ago Bailey, a Government official, encouraged the Veddas of Nilgala to make chena and since then the custom has spread. Sixty years ago these Veddas, and in fact all except the long established coast and village Veddas, must have lived a life very little different from that of the Sitala Wanniya group of to-day.

[2] The readiness with which this community accepted an innovation was demonstrated

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Plate XXXVI

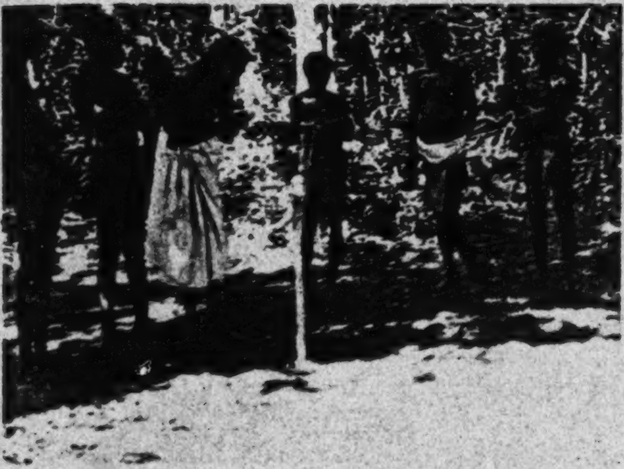

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman salaams to the offering (Bandaraduwa)

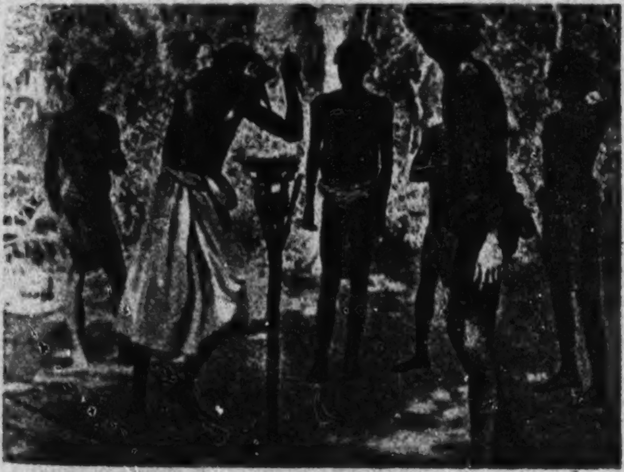

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman pretends to stab the offering (Bandaraduwa)*

[facing p. 234a]

Plate XXXVII

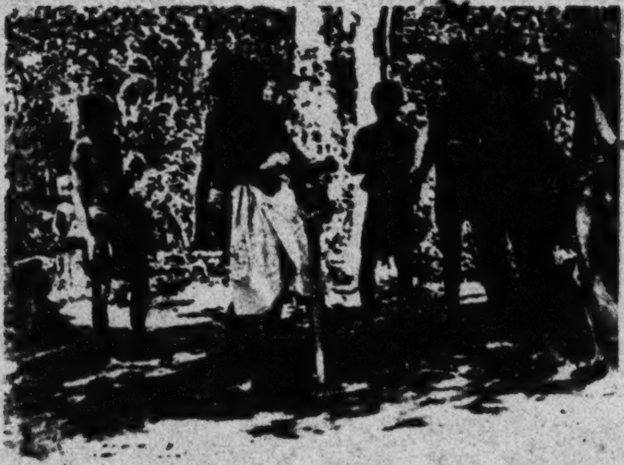

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed falls into the arms of a supporter (Bandaraduwa)

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman sprinkles milk from the offering on the brothers of the deceased (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p. 234 b]

Plate XXXVIII

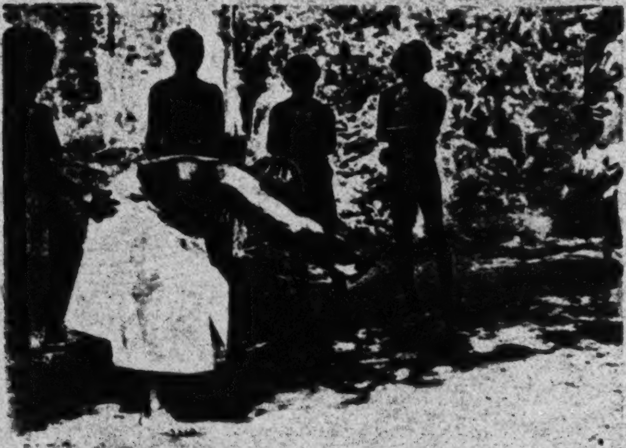

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka tracks the sambar (Bandaraduwa)*

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the brother of the deceased falls back possessed (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p.234 c]

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At the same time an invocation was sung, presumably to Kande Yaka and the *Nae Yaka*, but our notes are not quite clear about this; it was however certain that Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and the *Nae Yaka* all came, indeed that the last was unable to come without Kande Yaka, but it was not clear when each *yaka* came and went, and it seemed quite possible for the shaman to be possessed by several *yaku* at once.

As the shaman danced he stabbed at the *kirikoraha* with both the *aude* (Plate XXXVI, fig. 2), in this way the *Nae Yaka* by whom he was possessed was pleased to show his power. Sometimes as Tissahami made the usual half turn on his heels he held the *aude* against his hips pointed end outwards. Soon he began to quiver and bend his head forward, and was immediately supported by one of the onlookers, into whose arms he fell back (Plate XXXVII, fig. 1). After lying still for a few seconds he revived and began to dance wildly, stabbing the *aude* in the air; this was in order to frighten people, for although the feeling of the *Nae Yaka* towards his living relatives was friendly, provided always that he had been well treated by them and had been offered sufficient rice, coconut milk and betel leaves, the *yaka* was not averse to showing his newly acquired power. After this, in order to show his favour to his relatives the shaman went to both the brothers of the dead man in turn and sprinkled them with coconut milk from the *kirikoraha* (Plate XXXVII, fig. 2), he put his arms on their shoulders and promised them luck in hunting, and taking two betel leaves from the *kirikoraha* he put one on the chest of each man, and the leaves being wet with the milk stayed where they were placed for a short time. Suddenly leaping away the shaman, now apparently possessed by Kande Yaka and probably with the spirit of the *Nae Yaka* still within him, tracked an imaginary sambar round the dancing ground, holding the two *aude* crosswise to represent a bow and arrow. This is shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. 1, which also shows the betel leaves on the chest

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by the shaman who wanted to wear Sinhalese leggings with bells, although he said these had not been worn before in a Vedda ceremony. The leglets, which he greatly admired, had been worn by a peasant Sinhalese at a devil ceremony which had been held two days before at a village a few miles distant. 177

769 535 787 of each of the two brothers of the deceased. The shaman made no feint to shoot but soon put the *aude* on the *kirikoraha*, and taking a pot of rice which had been prepared twirled it vigorously in his hands, and though this may have represented Kande Wanniya spinning the rice pot for prophecy, the shaman put the pot down without actually spinning it. Supported by one of the Veddas he again danced round the *kirikoraha* and swayed his body violently; at times he would spring suddenly to one side stabbing fiercely at the air, after which (bending over the *kirikoraha*) he fell back and remained perfectly still with rapt expression and head slightly bent, one hand resting on the edge of the milk pot. It seemed as though the Yaka was about to leave the shaman, but as the relatives did not desire this (perhaps because the Yaka had not yet fed them as a sign of greater favour) they all sang the invocation together. The Yaka heard them, for suddenly the shaman began to tremble, the trembling grew to a vigorous shaking, and he sprang forward and again bent his head over the *kirikoraha*; then with body bent and head drooping he moved a little way, taking short leaping steps, and again fell back exhausted. But he soon revived and took the *aude* and approached the dead man's brothers in turn, who both became possessed by the *Nae Yaka* and fell back. Then the shaman smeared their bodies with coconut milk, throwing some into their mouths, and they soon showed signs of life again. Plate XXXVIII, fig. 2, and Plate XXXIX, fig. 1, show the two brothers of the deceased possessed by the *Nae Yaka*; in the latter figure the body of the unconscious man has been smeared with the contents of the *kirikoraha*, while the remains of that with which he had been fed hangs about his mouth and chin. It will be observed that in both these figures the supporters are Sinhalese; this was because there were not enough grown Vedda men in the community to support the man possessed by Yaku. All this time the invocation was being repeated by one of the youngest Veddas present, who we were told was the dead man's sister's son, that is the dead man's potential son-in-law. The shaman now fed the dead man's brothers with rice from the offering, and then fell exhausted to the ground. One of the onlookers immediately came

Plate XXXIX

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Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the other brother of the deceased is also possessed (Bandaraduwa)

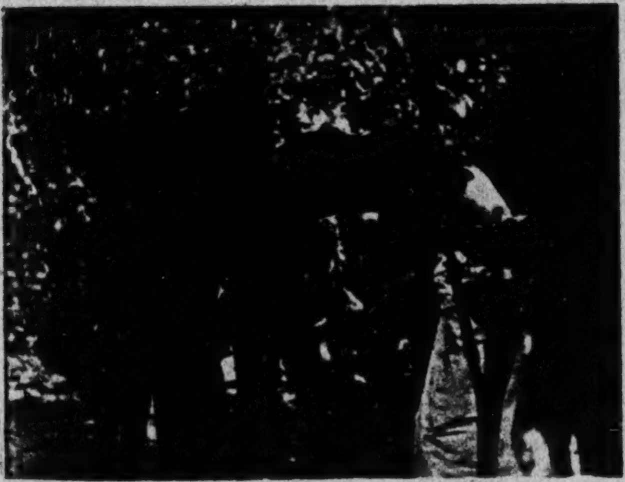

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed by the Nae Yaku embraces the brothers of the deceased (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p.236a]

Plate XL

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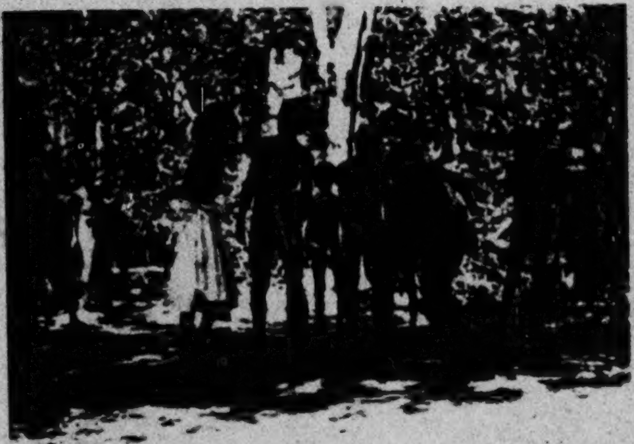

Fig. 1. Nae Yaku ceremony, the Nae Yaka shows his power (Bandaraduwa)

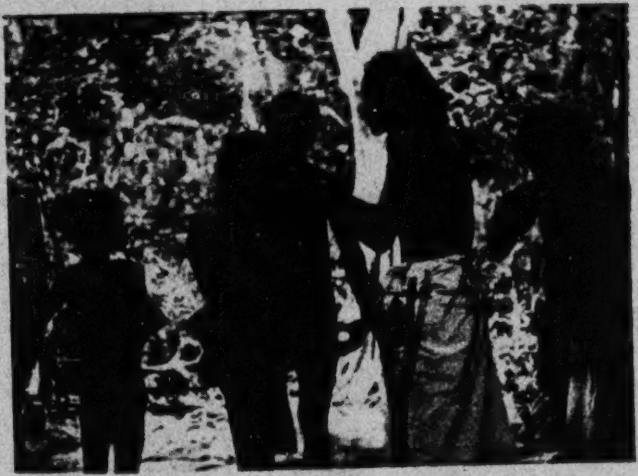

Fig. 2. Nae Yaku ceremony, the shaman feeds the members of the community (Bandaraduwa)

[facing p. 236 b]

to his assistance when he began to quiver and sway, then 769
moved and put both arms round one of the dead man's brothers 535
as a sign of kindness from the deceased. (Plate XXXIX, 787
fig. 2.) The brothers said: "It was good of you to come. See we have given you food, now do not come back again," and the *yaka* agreed. The shaman then took the *aude* and transfixed a betel leaf with each and danced and again showed favour to the relatives by giving them each another betel leaf, after which one of the relatives danced, but the shaman threatened to stab with the *aude* the men who were not relatives of the dead man. (Plate XL, fig. 1.) Soon both the shaman and the two brothers fell back and the Yaka departed from them. When the shaman revived, he bent his head over the *kirikoraha* as a sign of respect; then holding both hands over the rice pot he repeated a silent charm, asking any of the other *yaku* who might have come to the ceremony to depart peacefully. After this he fed each relative of the dead man, holding the *kirikoraha* to their mouths, as is shown in Plate XL, fig. 2.

### THE INVOCATION OF BAMBURA YAKA.

The Veddas invoke Bambura Yaka for help in getting pig 776
and yams, both staple foods, the latter being an extremely im- 535
portant element in their diet. The dance is pantomimic, and 773
depicts a boar hunt in which Bambura, the boar-hunting hero, 796
was aided by a Vedda woman, who killed the pig with an arrow she shot from her husband's bow and whose spirit is therefore called Dunne Yakini (Bow Spirit), while the spirit of this woman's husband who turned the boar with his yam stick (*ule*) has become Ule Yaka, that is (Yam-stick Spirit). This ceremony, though not so widely spread, is as dramatic as that in which Kande Yaka stalks and kills sambar deer. We saw it danced by Kaira of Sitala Wanniya and by Wannaku of Uniche.

The invocation of Bambura Yaka at Sitala Wanniya. 776
The dance at Sitala Wanniya will be described first, since the 773
story was told us here in its more complete form. Once long 796
ago many Vedda men and women went out in search of yams,

776 773 796 and they took their dogs with them. While all were busy digging yams, the dogs strayed in the jungle and soon put up a boar, to which they gave chase, giving tongue. The men hearing the dogs followed them and soon came up with the boar at bay, which immediately charged them. None of the men could kill the boar, but a woman, whose spirit afterwards became Dunne Yakini, picked up a bow and arrow and killed the boar with the help of her husband Ule Yaka and his brother, who became Kuda Ule Yaka, i.e. Little Yam-stick Yaka. Although Bambura Yaka takes no part in the story as it was told us, he is the important *yaka* of the ceremony; it is he who is especially invoked, Dunne Yakini, her husband and brother-in-law coming in as his attendants, as do a varying number of other *yaku*, presumably the spirits of those who joined in the boar hunt[1].

535 796 During the dance Bambura Yaka and all his attendants were present, so that it was not at all clear which part of the dance represented the actions of Bambura Yaka himself, since after the first complete possession *yaku* entered and departed from the shaman without any obvious signs. But we were told after the dance that Bambura was returning to his cave at Lewangala carrying yams and a couple of the large monitor lizards when he came across the hunt.

The properties for this dance are rather complicated and were carefully prepared on the dancing ground, all the men helping in the work and charms being sung the while. The necessary sticks were cut and two flat reddish stones found by a stream were placed below the *maessa* which was built with a double platform, a bundle of grass, leaves and twigs bound together to represent the boar being suspended from the lower platform. The stones were called Kuda Lewangala and Maha Lewangala respectively, and represented the red rocks or rocky hills of Lewangala, the unknown land in which Bambura lived and which is still the chief abiding place of his *yaka*. The majority of these properties are well seen in Plate XLIV, fig. 1.

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[1] We may here refer to a matter we discuss at greater length in Chapter x. It is certain that the invocations (Nos. xxvii and xxviii) used at the Bambura Yaka ceremony and specially addressed to Bambura, which were only partially understood by those who sang them, originally applied to honey collecting.

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On the stones Handuna and Kaira mixed their pigments, lime, turmeric, water and charcoal, while all chanting together they decorated with spots and bars the various sticks which were to form the bows, arrows, yam sticks and carrying sticks sacred to the *yaku* who were soon to be invoked[1].

As already stated the boar was suspended below the *maessa* by a creeper, and another creeper fastened to the "boar" was held by a small boy who stood a little back in the bush.

The objects prepared for the Bambura Yaka dance at Sitala Wanniya were as follows:

(i) The *mulpola itiya*; the meaning of these words is doubtful, though *itiya* was said to signify an ancient weapon. This was said to be for the use of Mulpola Itiya Yaka, and is a rough stick about 5 feet 6 in. long (figure 9 *a*) pointed at one end, above which the bark is shaved off for about 6 in., which part was decorated with bars of red and black pigment. This was said to be a yam stick, and it was explained that because of this the bark was not peeled except at the point, for a man would cut any stick in the jungle and dig up yams with it.

(ii) The *ale* (figure 9 *b*) or ceremonial arrow belonging to the Yaka is a peeled stick about 6 feet long, pointed at one end and decorated with rings of red and black pigment. Three pieces of bast are tied to the upper end, a few inches from the top, to epresent the feathers of an arrow.

(iii) The *karimitiya* is a stout stick about 3 feet 6 in. long, decorated with rings of red and black pigment, and was sed by Bambura Yaka as a staff.

(iv) The *haelapeta* (figure 9 *c*) is a peeled stick nearly 6 feet long, spatulate at one end and decorated with bars of red nd black in the manner indicated in the drawing.

(v) The *ran kaduwa* (literally "golden sword") is similar o the *haelapeta*, and totally unlike the *ran kaduwa* used in the Rahu Yaku ceremony and figured on p. 256.

(vi) The bow of the Dunne Yakini has the bark stripped rom the outer surfaces only, and is decorated with spots of red

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[1] On asking the reason for this ornamentation of the properties we were told that he *yaku* would be pleased when they saw the decorations, for the spots of pigment epresented the flowers of Lewangala.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

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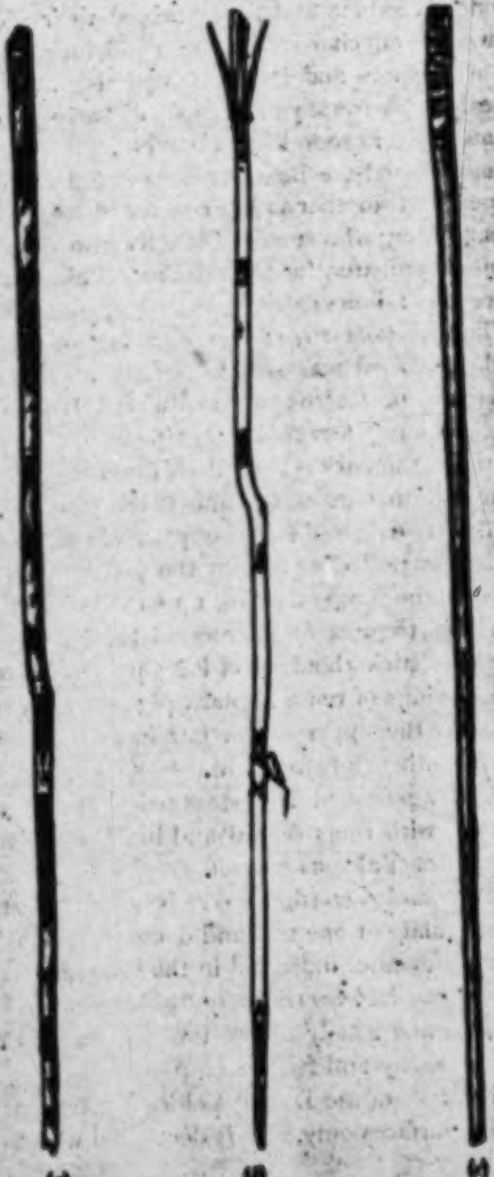

Fig. 9. Some of the objects used in the Bambura Yaka ceremony.
(a) [illegible] × [illegible]. (b) [illegible] × [illegible]. (c) [illegible] × [illegible].

nd black pigment. It closely resembled that used in the Bambura Yaka ceremony at Uniche. 535 796

(vii) The *tadiya* is well seen in Plate XLI, fig. 1. It is short stout stick, and represents a carrying stick or *pingo* which s used throughout Ceylon; however, it was quite unlike one, s these are long and springy and resemble a bow; moreover, Veddas usually unstring their bows and use them as carrying ticks.

(viii) The *nimiti* or book (explained as book of omens, nd said to be borrowed from Sinhalese ceremonies) was made f a couple of broad strips of bark in imitation of the *ola* books sed in Ceylon[1]. [787] [177]

The *hadapeta* and *ran kaduwa* were said to belong to Devatayo of those names, but nothing was known about them. Devatayo or Dewa are Sinhalese spirits distinct from the *yaku* ccording to Sinhalese beliefs, but Handuna, our best informant t Sitala Wanniya, said Devatayo were the same as *yaku*. Obviously they had been introduced and assimilated to the Vedda *yaku*.

After all the sticks had been painted some cooked yams were tied up in leaves and bound to one end of the *tadiya*, and some wisps of grass were tied to the other to represent monitor izards (Plate XLI, fig. 1), the whole was then put on the lower tage of the *maesa* with cooked yams for all the *yaku*, while portion of yams was placed on the upper stage for Korimainaala Yaka, but no reason could be discovered why his food was kept apart from the rest. The dance began by Handuna singing an invocation (No. XXIX) to Mulpola Itiya Yaka, and Kaira, who wore a *hangala*, held the *mulpola itiya* in his right hand, letting the decorated end rest in his left, then he danced slowly round and round in front of the *maesa* facing east, the direction whence the boar of the story came. The *mulpola itiya* was soon changed for the *ran kaduwa*, and now Kaira made long leaping steps, widening his circle as he moved in front of the *maesa* and

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[1] The *nimiti* omen or book is perhaps the most curious of all the properties. It was said that Bambura Yaka could read and write, and that he was the only Yaka who had these accomplishments, though nothing was known as to how he had learned them. But certainly this part of the ritual was old and must be the result of quite ancient contact with a Buddhistic people.

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turning the stick over in his hand. At this time he becam possessed by Ule Yaka, and after dancing in a circle for a fe minutes he began to leap to and fro in front of the *maessa* a thrust at the ground with his stick, at the same time warni the *yaku* that the boar he was hunting was very dangerous an that they must be prepared to help him should it charge hi Then he approached Handuna and one of us, saying "The bo is very fierce but I will kill it." Again he went to Handu and laid the *ran kaduwa* across the latter's chest and held it t him with both arms and repeated his boast of killing the bo but he also begged for assistance if he should meet with a accident. He again leapt to and fro beating his sides, and taking the *tadiya* from the *maessa*, held it first on his shoulde then behind his head and brandished it in the air so tha Bambura Yaka might see the good things attached to it, and i he were pleased with the offering he too might come to assi Ule Yaka if the boar should attack him. Then taking Vela b the hand, he spoke to him quietly and pointed as thoug he saw the boar, and crouching, he stepped forward noiseless but again sprang back and danced with the *ule* and *tadiya*, the putting the *tadiya* down, turned the *ule* over in his hands an danced with long leaping strides. Soon he left off dancin and merely bounded to and fro trying to thrust at the "boar" below the *maessa*, but the small boy holding the creeper attache to it pulled the "boar" away each time Kaira thrust at it. Afte a few attempts he came to each of us in turn, pressing the u against our chests, and with head bent forward and taking sho steps alternately to the right and left he spoke to us a though we were Bambura Yaka and said, "This boar is difficu to kill, grant that I may succeed." As he spoke he raised hi hand and pointed. Then shouting *sui sui suaw* (the words wi which dogs are put on a trail) he called the dogs (mentioned i the story) Sanjala, Bahira Pandi, Neti, and Kali, and we through the pantomime of laying them on the trail, gasping an panting the while and hitting his chest saying, "This is a fi big boar and I will kill it." Again he leapt to and fro an thrust at the "boar" without success, then with a great char and a shout wounded the "boar" and fell back exhausted in

1.Seligmann & Seligmann B-6 (1907–1908) 1811
AXS Vedda AXS

Plate XLI

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Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, preparing the hudiya (Sitala Wanniya)"

[417]

Fig. 2. The Bambura Yaka ceremony begins by Handuna singing an invocation (Sitala Wanniya)"

[facing p. 242 a]

Plate XLII

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Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the boar wounds the hunter (Sitala Wanniya)*

[417]

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the boar is at length killed (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 242 b]

Plate XLIII

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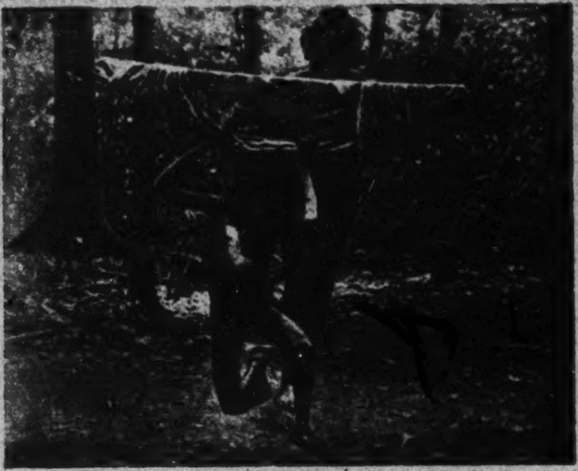

Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, the bow of Dunne Yakini (Sitala Wanniya)*

[482]

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, Kaira dances with the *fadiya* (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 242 c]

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the arms of his supporter. However, the "boar" was not yet dead and the *yaka* did not leave Kaira, who rested for a few seconds, and when he sprang forward with a shout and danced again and spoke to Handuna, saying, "I have succeeded in wounding the boar, now I will kill it" he was still possessed by Ule Yaka. Then the whole pantomime was repeated, the boasts, the attempts to kill the boar, and the laying of the dogs on the scent. At last the "boar" was wounded again, for a squeal was set up by the small boy who manipulated the creeper; then with a final thrust the *yaka* killed it, and as the *ule* was carefully withdrawn the "boar" gave a long dying squeal. Then the yaka left Kaira.

Soon Kaira began to dance again still holding the *ule*, and moving slowly at first but soon more energetically, and now he became possessed by Koriminaála Yaka. He danced as before, calling the dogs in the same way as when he was possessed by Ule Yaka and thrust at the boar in like manner, but this time the boar must have turned on him, as with a grunt "honk, honk," the boar swung forward and Kaira stumbled and then hobbled painfully supporting himself on the *ule*, his right leg dragging stiffly on the ground (Plate XLII, fig. 1).

The other men came forward and "medicined" the leg, that is, while one of them supported Kaira the other took a leaf and hurriedly wiped the limb from the back of the knee downwards. This evidently cured him, and he made another attempt to kill the boar, and was again wounded and again cured in the same way. Then he made one more charge, and the *ule* pierced the back of the "boar," wounding it mortally, and as Kaira fell back exhausted the Yaka left him (Plate XLII, fig. 2). As the *ule* was extracted the dying boar again gave forth a last squeal. After a short rest the ceremonial bow prepared for Dunne Yakini was wrapped in a cloth, and Handuna knelt down and held it on his head with both hands while Kaira and Vela sang an invocation almost certainly to Dunne Yakini, but unfortunately no note was taken of this (Plate XLIII, fig. 1)[1]. Kaira salaamed

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[1] There was some experimenting before Kaira took the bow; the plate shows one of the younger members of the community holding it, but as he was not found satisfactory Handuna took it himself.

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to the bow and said, "Behold this golden bow is brought, covered by a clean cloth," and taking it from Handuna proceeded to dance with it at first holding it behind his head, then bringing it forward unwrapped it, placed it on Handuna's shoulder, and spoke in the usual *yaka* voice. He again danced with the bow and tried the string, and expressed his pleasure by gasping and hitting his chest. Then he put it on the *maesa* and fell exhausted.

Although we have no definite note it seems quite evident that at this time Kaira was possessed by Dunne Yakini.

Kaira then danced with the *kaurimittiya* taking the usual dance steps but supporting himself with the *kaurimittiya*, and he soon became possessed by Bambura Yaka. One of the lads now held the *tadiya*, then Kaira made a mock search for it for some minutes before he took it from the child. He danced with it over his shoulder with body bent and the *kaurimittiya* still in his hand (Plate XLIII, fig. 2). He thus enacted Bambura Yaka returning to the cave with good things on his *tadiya*, and he shouted as every Vedda does when within hearing of home. Seeing the children he seemed to threaten them with his stick, and they ran away laughing; this was repeated several times. He tried to frighten the children away as he did not want them to see the food he had procured. Then he led Vela behind the *maesa*, and pointing and speaking in a whisper with a great air of secrecy told him that if he went to a certain place where "there was high land by a stream" he should find a wild pig and kill it. For pig he used the *yaka* word *hossa dikka*, which apparently means "long snout." He led Handuna in the opposite direction, and speaking with like precaution promised that he should find and kill sambar, using the *yaka* name *gowra magalla*.

He took the book, spoke to Handuna and Vela, and next taking yams from the *maesa* presented some to each of us and to all the Veddas present, for in this way Bambura Yaka showed his good will. All the time he was distributing the yams Kaira hurried, gasped, and trembled. Before Bambura Yaka left him Kaira hit the upper stage of the *maesa* with the *kaurimittiya*, and shouted "Hoi, hoi," to drive Koriminaala Yaka

away. Then he fell back, Handuna took the *tadiya*, and the 535
dance ended. 796

All the properties of Bambura Yaka and his attendants were replaced on the *maessa* and some water was sprinkled over them, this we were told being water for them to drink, for as no man eats without drinking afterwards, so the *yaku* require water to drink after food has been offered to them.

Handuna repeated charms over them, saying, "We have given you food and treated you well; if we have made any mistakes excuse us and do no harm to our families or ourselves." The whole ceremony was remarkable for the general feeling of cheerfulness and goodfellowship, jokes were frequently made, and obviously the Veddas had nothing to fear from the *yaku* in the ordinary course of events.

**The Bambura Yaka Ceremony at Uniche.** The dance to Bambura Yaka performed by Wannaku of Uniche differed only very slightly from that performed at Sitala Wanniya, yet in order to show these differences it will be necessary to describe the dance in detail. Wannaku, who visited us at Maha Oya in the Eastern Province, told us that Bambura Yaka was sometimes called Ala Yaka, i.e. Yam Yaka, as he helped men to find yams.

A *maessa* was built and leaves laid on it over which a white 535
cloth[1] was laid, and on this yams, a coconut, and a pumpkin were 796
placed, while some of the properties of the Bambura Yaka 293
ceremony leaned against the *maessa*. These objects consisted of a roughly made bow decorated with bars of red and black (figure 10 *a*), two ordinary arrows and two long sticks which represented the special arrows of the *yaka*. They are well seen in Plate XLIV, fig. 1, leaning against the *maessa*; a ring of bark is left at the top of each stick, and this is split to represent the feathers of an arrow, the peeled portion of both sticks being decorated with bars of red and yellow pigment. The upper ends of these sticks are pared down so as to represent two flattened surfaces as is shown in figure 10 *b*, which is drawn

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[1] Among the Sinhalese and Tamils it is customary not only to hang a ceiling cloth but even to cover the walls, table and chairs with cloths when receiving an honoured guest.

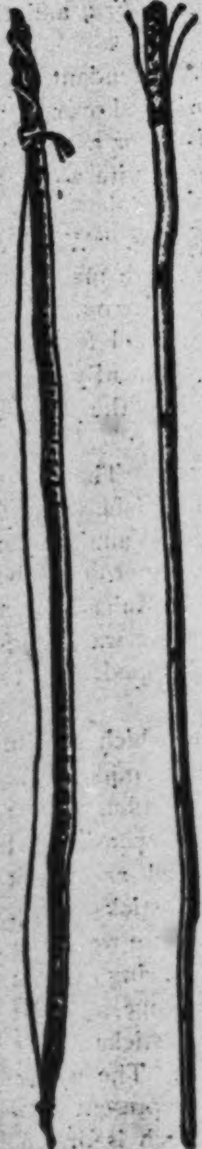

Fig. 10. Ceremonial bow and arrow of Bambura Yaka. $\times \frac{1}{10}$

to a scale of about one-tenth. Below the *maesa*, suspended by a creeper, is the *welemula*, which is merely a bundle of leaves filled with sand to represent the wild boar.

Wannaku, the shaman, put on a *hangala*, and salaamed to the *maesa*, and then sang a curious invocation (No. XXVIII), while a lad beat the drum. Wannaku now exhibited all the *yaka* properties, dancing with each in turn. Wannaku did not tell us the story of Bambura Yaka, and as our many questions did not elicit it we may presume that he did not know it, so we did not find out whether all the properties belonged to Bambura Yaka or whether, as at Sitala Wanniya, which we visited afterwards, some belonged to his attendants.

After a short time Wannaku bent his head over the *maesa*, shouted, let down his hair, and became possessed. He picked up each of the big *yaka* arrows in turn and danced with them shouting, and thus showing that he was pleased with them. Up to this time he had not danced round the *maesa*, only in front of it, that is, facing east towards Inginiyagala, the home of Bambura.

The shaman next took up the bow and arrow and danced wildly in all directions, pulling at the bowstring to see if it were strong enough, although he did not let fly. Being at last satisfied with his weapon he aimed at the *welemula* and shot, and although he hit it he only wounded the "boar," so the shaman continued to dance as though following the animal, but although he occasionally pulled hard on

Plate XLIV

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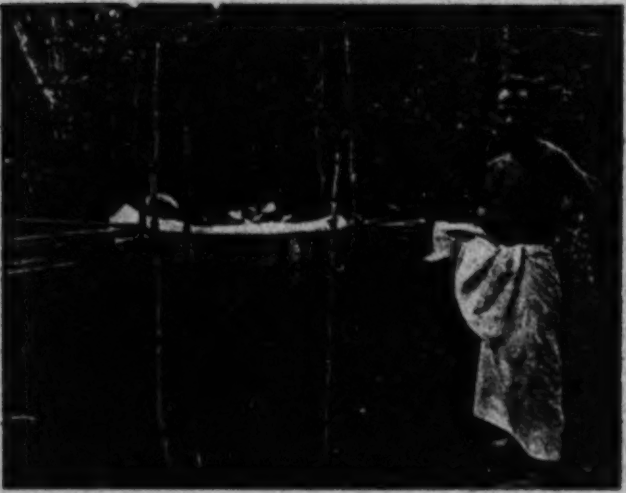

Fig. 1. Bambura Yaka ceremony, offerings and properties prepared for the ceremony by Wannaku of Uniche (Maha Oya)

Fig. 2. Bambura Yaka ceremony, Wannaku kills the boar (Maha Oya)*

[facing p. 246]

the bowstring aiming in the air he did not loose his arrow. 535
Soon he slipped down on one knee letting the other leg trail 796
on the ground, and we were told that the wild boar had turned and charged him. Immediately one of the Vedda onlookers sprang forward and "medicined" the leg, that is to say, he wiped it down with a leaf as though he swept the pain from the leg to the earth, and the shaman, apparently cured, continued to hunt. Three times he shot at the *welemula* and hit it each time, then leaning back in the arms of his supporter he gasped: "I have shot the boar, now I am going." After more gasping and quivering he fell into his supporter's arms and the *yaka* left him.

After the ceremony all the food was eaten except the pumpkin which was left to rot on the *maesa*. Wannaku told us that the *yaku* would come and eat this, getting under the *maesa* and sucking the goodness out of it; the pumpkin would remain there and would look perfect, but should anyone cook it and try to eat it, he would find its substance was gone, so that it would be like trying to eat grass. As we asked to keep the bow and arrows, which would otherwise have been left to rot on the *maesa*, Wannaku sprinkled some water over them and muttered an explanation to the *yaku* before giving them to us.

## THE PATA YAKU CEREMONY.

All Veddas recognise childbirth as a time of extreme pain 843
and even danger to women, and the individuals of the Sitala 796
Wanniya group invoke the aid of the *yaku* as soon as pregnancy is diagnosed[1]. A week before we arrived at Sitala Wanniya this ceremony had been held on behalf of Bevini, the wife of Vela, who did not appear to be at all far advanced in pregnancy. On the other hand, Mari, the wife of Pema, on whose account the Pata Yaku dance which we witnessed was performed, appeared to be quite six months pregnant. The delay had probably been caused only by the lack of the good things which it was necessary to offer to the *yaku* on these occasions, and both Pema and his father-in-law Nila seemed very gratified when

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[1] We did not hear of this ceremony among the Veddas of any other group.

843 we provided the rice and coconut necessary for the ceremony.
796 This food is always eaten by the community after the *yaku* have
inspected it.

The *yaku* invoked to ensure safety during pregnancy and
843 childbirth are three in number and are called Pata (bark) Yaku.
796 No story could be discovered concerning them, nor could any
reason be elicited for the name Pata (bark) or the large quantity
776 of bast which is used in the dance. This can be taken from any tree in the jungle, and is torn into strips about half-an-inch broad. It may, however, be suggested that these particular *yaku* require the *inner* bark of trees as a resting-place just as the *yaku* invoked to come to the *kolamaduwa* or *alutyakagama* come first to the leaves used in making these structures, and then may or may not enter the person of the shaman, while they may take refuge again in the leaves after they leave the shaman. In the instances cited the leafy structures were beaten with sticks after the ceremony to drive the *yaku* away; this ritual was not observed in the Pata Yaku ceremony, but it must be remembered that only three *yaku* were invoked and the shaman may have been thoroughly satisfied that they had gone away from the place, while, on the other hand, in the two other ceremonies we were told that hosts of attendant *yaku* rested amid the leaves, and that the more important spirits alone entered the persons of the dancers.

The properties used in the Pata Yaku ceremony held for
843 Mari at Sitala Wanniya were as follows: three stout posts,
796 which were thrust into the ground in a line; the tallest was
about 2 ft 6 in. high and the shortest somewhat less than 2 ft,
the upper ends of all being forked and large quantities of strips
of bast lashed to them. These bast covered stakes are called
[293] the *usmukaliya*, *medamukaliya* and *balakanua*, i.e. the high,
middle and young post respectively, and each one belongs to one of the Pata Yaku. The *wilakodiya* or *kude* (umbrella), which belongs to all the Pata Yaku, is a similar bunch of bast strips tied to a rather longer stick which is not driven into the ground. The *amamula* is a stout stick about 18 inches long, to which bunches of bast are tied at each end and doubled back so as to present somewhat the appearance of a dumbbell. All these

843.

properties had been used previously in the ceremony performed 796
for Bevini[1].

Two dancers must take part in the ceremony, and one of 843.
them should be the woman's father, whether he be shaman or 796
not; if the woman has no father, or if he is unable to dance,
her paternal uncle or her husband may take his part. In the 535.
ceremony we witnessed Nila, the father of Mari, and Vela, who was no relation to her, both wore the *hangala*. Nila also wore wristlets and cross shoulder straps of bark which represented beads.

As usual all the women and children collected at one side of the cleared space to watch the ceremony, and Mari joined the other women in preparing the offering of cooked food. An arrow was struck (Plate XLV, fig. 1) in the ground beside the *usmukaliya*, and Nila, standing in front of the three posts, began an invocation (No. XXX) which was soon taken up by the other men. Nila salaamed, took the arrow out of the earth and began to dance round the three posts, and then in and out between them, without observing any particular order, holding the end of the shaft with one hand and the head of the arrow with the other. The usual steps and movements were performed, the knees bent, the body inclined from the waist and swaying to and fro, the arms with the arrow between them being moved to and fro, but not raised higher than the chest. Vela followed Nila closely; it appeared that he should have held an arrow, but not having one, he did the next best thing and pretended that he had one, holding his hands as though there was an arrow between them.

Suddenly when between two of the posts Nila dropped the arrow on the ground and leapt over it. Kaira, one of the onlookers, immediately picked it up and returned it to Nila. Nila then dropped the arrow between the other two posts and again leapt over it. This was repeated several times, Kaira always picking up the arrow and returning it to Nila, whose movements Vela imitated. Although we asked numerous questions as to the meaning of this figure no reason could be supplied, "Our fathers did it" was all the information we could obtain. The movements had gradually become quicker and

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[1] See genealogy, p. 61.

843 796 535 wilder till after a final leap between the posts Nila fell supine with outstretched arms, and was immediately supported by one of the onlookers. The *yaka* of the high post now possessed Nila who, after a few minutes' immobility, began to shiver and gasp, then springing forward he danced to the posts with shuffling feet and head bent forward, and examined each one in turn. This he did by dropping his head on them so that his face was partly buried in the bast, his supporter always close behind him (Plate XLV, fig. 2). We were told that Nila was now possessed by all three *yaku*, who appear to have entered him as he bent over the posts. The exact moment of the entry and exit of the *yaka* into the person of the shaman was often very ill-defined, although in this instance, and indeed in most cases when more than one *yaka* was present at a dance, it was clear when the first *yaka* arrived, it seemed that the other *yaka* entered the shaman without giving any immediate sign of their presence.

The *yaku* speaking through Nila signified that they were pleased with the posts built for their reception. Then Nila picked up the *wila* and shouting, apparently with approval, held it up by each end and whirled the handle round making the bast strands fly out, then he approached Mari and waved it over [787] her head and rested it there, so that her head was buried in the bast for several seconds while Nila predicted a male child (Plate XLVI, fig. 1)[1]. Nila then danced to Handuna and waved the *wila* over him. No particular reason was given for [554] this, Handuna being no relation to the woman, but he was the most important old man in the community.

After covering Handuna with the *wila*, Nila danced wildly, always with the rapt expression of a man possessed by a *yaku*, showing his pleasure by holding the *wila* aloft and whirling it round and round. Then Nila put down the *wila* and took the *amamula* and dancing with it in his hand he approached Mari stretching it out towards her, but he only stayed a few seconds and passed on to Handuna and falling on the latter's chest spoke and again foretold the birth of a male child to Mari.

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[1] The sex of the child is determined by the position assumed by the strips of bast as they fall over the woman's head. If most fall over the woman's face the child will be a girl, if over the occiput a boy.

Plate XLV

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Fig. 1. Pata Yaku ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Sitala Wanniya)*

Fig. 2. Pata Yaku ceremony, the shaman buries his face in the *usmuhaliya* (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 250a]

Plate XLVI

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[787]

Fig. 1. Pata Yaku ceremony, the shaman predicts the sex of the child (Sitala Wanniya)*

Fig. 2. Pata Yaku ceremony, Nila prays for his daughter's safe delivery (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p. 250 b]

Nila exchanged the *amamula* for the *wila*, and coming to 843
Mari again, raised the *wila* above her head and lowered it to the 535
ground, letting the bast strips brush her face and body and then 796
sweep the ground. This was done in order to wipe away the pain of labour. Then he leapt back to the centre of the cleared space and danced in and out between the three posts, hitting them with the *wila*. This was probably a sign of pleasure, for the driving away of *yaku* by striking their resting place would probably only take place at the end of the ceremony. He again approached Mari and fell back into the arms of his supporter, only remaining quiet for a few seconds until, trembling and gasping, he bent his head over the *usmukaliya* and buried his face in the bast. After doing this over each post he returned to the *usmukaliya* and said he must go, speaking in the usual husky 194
and gasping *yaku* voice; then he fell exhausted into the arms of his supporter. All the Veddas now began to sing the invocation, and it was clear that the *yaku* had not departed from Nila for he soon began to quiver and gasp again, and sprang forward and danced between the three posts; then he began to search for something, lifting the strands of bast on the *usmukaliya*, and after an exaggerated pantomimic search he found the *wila*, turning this in his hands so that the bast swung at right angles, he waved it over each of the three posts; then turning to the *usmukaliya*, bent his head low over it and fell back exhausted. The *yaku* now left him and he recovered consciousness without any quivering or trembling, salaamed to the *usmukaliya* and sat down to rest. All the properties were immediately piled together under a tree. It may be noted that although Vela began to dance with Nila, he did not become possessed and so took no part in the latter portion of the dance.

After a short rest Nila went to the pile and holding a few strands of bast in one hand (Plate XLVI, fig. 2) repeated the following prayer to the Pata Yaku for his daughter's safety a 539
number of times:—

*Anê! magê darowata kisi antarâwak wenda epâ mê wâra.*
*Goda yanta denda ônê.*

*Anê!* (May) any harm not happen to my child this time.
(You) must permit (her) to land (i.e. to escape from her sea of troubles).

## THE DOLA YAKA CEREMONY.

Collecting honey is almost as important to the Vedda as
222 hunting, for not only is honey valuable as food but it is one of
437 the most important articles of barter, and every year at the end
of the honey season the Moorman pedlar[1] penetrates into the
wildest parts of the jungle with iron, cloth, pots and beads to
exchange for the highly prized jungle honey.

Nor is honey collecting without risk, for the "Little People
222 of the Rocks" can be very angry, and their sting is deadly.
776 Hence the Veddas ask for success in honey collecting from their
796 natural protectors the *yaku*, and Dola Yaka is especially invoked
for this purpose. Although there is no tradition concerning his
actions or his dwelling place his aid is invoked for success in
collecting *bambara* honey from trees, and for the more dangerous
task of cutting the combs from the craggy hill tops and rock faces
in which the colonies of the rock bee make their homes. The
successful invocation of Dola Yaka can only take place in the
early afternoon at the time when the bees are most active in
visiting flowers.

796 A *maessa* with a single platform about 4 ft 6 in. from the
778 ground was built, and two arrows were fixed in the centre of
the space cleared for the dance (Plate XLVII). A betel leaf
was placed on the top of each and pressed down on the shaft so
that it rested on the feathers, and a small bead necklace was
looped over the head of each arrow and rested on the betel leaf.
These leaves were said to represent the large bundles of leaves
which the Veddas use to smoke the bees from the comb, and the
necklaces represent the creeper by which the twigs would be tied
together and by which it would be lowered over the cliff edge.
It was noted that one arrow was taller than the other, and we
were told that the taller arrow was the one which would be used
in cutting the comb, and that when the honey was taken it would
be thrust through the withy binding the bundle of leaves used

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[1] The term Moormen is applied to the numerous Mohammedans who make their living as shopkeepers and pedlars. Many of them are proud of their alleged Arabic descent, but it is only in a minority that skin colour or features suggest Arab blood, and the appearance of the majority of Moormen scarcely differs from that of the Tamils of the East Coast, among whom their most considerable settlements are found.

Plate XLVII

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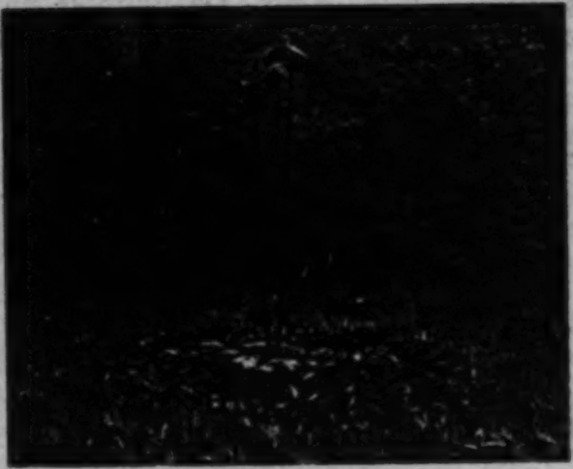

Dola Yaka ceremony, the offering to the Yaku (Sitala Wanniya)

[facing p.252]

as a smoker; the other was "just an arrow" and did not appear to fulfil any specific purpose. Small leafy twigs from the surrounding trees were placed on the ground round the arrows, and on these a number of betel leaves and areca nuts were placed as an offering, the twigs being a device for preventing the offering to the *yaku* from touching the ground. 796 778

All the adult men of the community decided to take part in this dance, as only those who become possessed by Dola Yaka would derive benefit from the ceremony, that is, obtain special favour and help from him in gathering honey. In order to provide a supporter for each man, the dance was performed in two parts, Nila, Kaira and Pema taking part in the first performance. The ceremony began by these men walking several times round the arrows singing an invocation (No. XXXI) as they moved clockwise and occasionally salaamed to the arrows. Soon they began to dance and at times passed their hands, palms downwards, over the top of the arrows. This was the old custom; the reason for it was not known. After a little while Nila fell and was supported, soon all three dancers became possessed and bending forward shook their heads over the arrows. Then Nila taking the lead, they all moved to one end of the dancing ground, where they assumed the strained attitude of men listening attentively for the distant hum of bees, with body bent forward, one hand to the ear and the other raised as if to impose silence on their companions. Suddenly they all leapt back to the arrows and danced round them wildly, and shook their heads low over them; again they listened for the bees and beat their chests with joy, crying, "We hear many bees, there will be plenty of honey." 796 535 787

Returning to the arrows they danced round them again, at times falling back into the arms of their supporters, and again springing forward to dance. Nila gave each of us a betel leaf as a sign of favour from Dola Yaka, and then spoke in a gasping voice to Handuna who answered him. All beat their bodies with both hands, driving away imaginary bees. Again they listened for the bees, and this time picked up some leafy twigs and pretending they were alight shook them beneath the *maessa*, which now represented a comb, but they soon sprang back and 796 535

776 rushed to the opposite side of the dancing ground to get away from the angry bees. After repeating this pantomime, Nila,
535 with much gasping and shaking of the arrows, promised *bambara* combs to Handuna, wherever he went. More dancing round the arrows followed and another mock smoking was performed, after which the three men fled from the *massa* brushing the bees away and even feigning to pick some off their bodies. Then they returned to the arrows round which they danced until they all fell back and Dola Yaka departed from them.

Handuna explained to us that in dancing to Dola Yaka it was usual to hold a cloth over the head, and that Dola Yaka had remarked on the absence of cloths and warned the dancers that evil might befall them if they were to slip and fall with their heads uncovered. So two pieces of white cloth were provided for Handuna and Vela, who put on *hangala* and repeated the dance. The ceremony was identical with that already described except in two respects; in the first part of the dance Handuna and Vela held their cloths in their outstretched arms, frequently putting them over their heads and always doing so when listening for the hum of the bees, and when they prophesied to their fellows each held his cloth so as to cover both the man to whom he spoke and himself. Both men, however, put down their cloths just before the end of the dance and, pulling the arrows out of the ground, went through the pantomime of cutting the combs from below the *massa* with them.

### THE INVOCATION OF THE RAHU YAKU.

776 Sitala Wanniya was the only place at which we saw this ceremony, though the Rahu Yaku were also invoked at the
776 *alutyakagama* ceremony at Unuwatura Bubula. At Sitala Wanniya the Rahu Yaku are called upon to cure sickness and to give good luck in collecting honey from trees. It seemed that they were not invoked to grant protection or good fortune when rock-honey was sought, this being the function of Dola Yaka. The offerings necessary to propitiate them are coconuts and rice, and each dancer must wear a piece of white cloth and cross shoulder straps of bark.

The story relates that there was once three brothers, and one 776
day the youngest was very angry and quarrelled with his wife. 773
He left her in his cave and went out hunting, and when he returned he found a strange man in the cave with his wife. The stranger escaped so quickly that the angry husband could not shoot him; but he then beat his wife, and though he did not kill her he jumped into the fire and was burnt to death and became Gini Rahu Bandar or Yaka. When they died his two brothers became Rahu Yaku also.

A post was placed in the centre of the cleared dancing space, 776
the upper end was split and bound so as to form the support for 535
a pot containing coconut milk, a few areca nuts and betel leaves. 778
This was called the *willkoraha* (lake pot), for once in the old days water was required to make the coconut milk for an offering to the Rahu Yaku, and as there was no stream near by it had to be fetched from a lake; hence the name *willkoraha*. A *messa* (well seen in Plate LXVIII, fig. 1) about 4 ft 6 in. high was built of sticks at one side of the dancing ground, and two pots of cooked rice and coconut milk were put on it as an offering to the *yaku*. A piece of bark to represent a necklace was put on the *willkoraha*; it was not known why it was necessary to offer a necklace to the Rahu Yaku, but it was always done[1]. Wooden *kaduwa* (swords) were used when invoking Rahu Yaku; these were two flattened sticks about 18 ins. long decorated with bands of red and yellow pigment and with guards made of twigs of fresh green leaves. One of these *kaduwa* without its guard is shown in fig. 11.

The use of the sword (*kaduwa*) and the objects themselves 777
are both curious, for Veddas have never used any weapon but the bow and axe, and Handuna explained that though these were called *kaduwa* they really represented ceremonial arrows

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[1] It was quite clear that Vedda men never wore necklaces, but *yaku*, especially dangerous *yaku*, as the Rahu Yaku were declared to be, were sometimes offered necklaces or pieces of bast to represent them. Thus at Unuwatura Bubula, Indigollae Yaka was considered especially dangerous, and the shaman kept a particular string of old and highly valued beads and used it only when making invocations to this *yaka*. These and other instances strengthen the idea expressed in Chapter VIII that beads are prized among the Veddas for their magical properties, the idea of ornament being quite secondary.

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777

or *aude*, yet *ran kaduwa* the "golden sword" is mentioned in many of the songs and invocations, so that it seems that the whole of the Vedda ceremony of the invocation of the Rahu Yaka has been taken over from the Sinhalese, among whom the cult of Gini Rahu Bandar occurs. This borrowing must have occurred in ancient days, perhaps as long ago as the time when the Sinhalese invaded the Veḍḍa country and carved the drip ledges on the caves, for as already mentioned the Sinhalese Rahu Bandar has become identified with three Vedda brothers whose spirits have retained only traces of the fierce nature of the Sinhalese demon. Once having borrowed the idea of a sword (*kaduwa*) and invocations in which it was mentioned, its name would remain, though in course of time the implement would become assimilated to the Vedda *aude*.

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Handuna and Kaira put on *hangala* and stood in front of the *wilkoraha* with the *kaduwa* in their hands, and Handuna began to recite the invocation to the Rahu Yaka (No. XXXV). Kaira took up the words and repeated them, always a few words behind Handuna. Soon they began to dance slowly round the *wilkoraha* holding the *kaduwa* in the same way as the *aude* is held in dances, i.e. right hand on point and left hand at the base of the handle, and as they danced they twirled them slowly in their fingers (Plate XLVIII, fig. 1). After a short time they both swayed their bodies more and the dance became more vigorous; then they began to shiver and shake their heads and became possessed by the two elder Rahu Yaka. They shouted, leaped and raised their *kaduwa* in the air, twirled them round with their

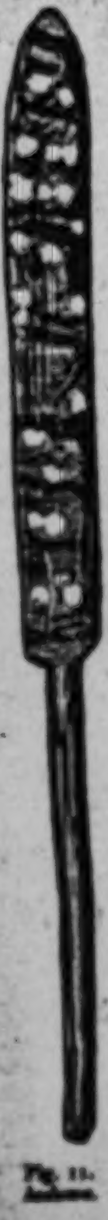

Fig. 11. *Ran kaduwa*. × ¼.

arms straight above their heads, and then stretching over the 796
*wilkoraha* exchanged *kadowa*. They danced a few steps 535
and exchanged *kadowa* again, and yet once more before they bent their heads low over the *wilkoraha*, by which action the *yaku* inspected the coconut milk and pronounced it very good. The exchange of swords was merely in imitation of the Rahu brothers who were said to have done this in their lifetime.

After approving of the offering of milk Handuna and Kaira, 796
both followed by their supporters, danced to Nila, and Handuna 535
placed his sword on the latter's chest while swaying his body 796
and moving from one foot to the other, prophesying that Nila would have good luck in hunting and would take many combs (Plate XLVIII, fig. 2). Nila answered; Handuna and Kaira still gasping and trembling said that the *yaku* possessing them must go now, and that their brother the Fire Chief would come. There was more wild dancing round the *wilkoraha*, and both men were so overcome that had their supporters not held them in their arms they must have fallen. We could not determine the exact time of the departure of the two elder Rahu Yaku and the advent of the younger brother[1]. Handuna and Kaira bent their heads simultaneously over the *wilkoraha*, inspected the milk, were satisfied and continued to dance, and while a bundle of grass was brought and set on fire they raised both arms, and after holding hands over the *wilkoraha* they rushed to the burning grass and danced on the fire till they put it out, then again holding hands they danced and bent their heads over the *wilkoraha*. More grass was set alight, and after repeating their dance on it both fell back into their supporters' arms. In a few seconds they sprang forward and danced up to Nila: Handuna spoke in the gasping *yaka* voice and covered the swords with a cloth. More grass having been set alight the dance continued as before, first round the pot, then on the flames, and then round the pot again. While Handuna placed his sword on the chest of Nila the spirit within him spoke saying he must go soon, but both Handuna and Kaira danced again before

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[1] It was perfectly clear that the idea of one *yaka* possessing two people at the same time presented no difficulty to Handuna and the rest of the Sitala Wanniya community.

791 returning to Nila and giving him their *kaduwas* to hold. Th
they did because they wanted to put them down, and they co
555 sidered them too sacred and dangerous to be put on the groun
791 or even to be held by anyone who was not a grown man wh
had frequent intercourse with the spirits.

Handuna took the necklace from the *wilkoraha* and showe
791 it to one of us (B. Z. S.), to whom he gave it, asking for a re
555 necklace instead of this bead one. Kaira followed Handuna an
gave to each of us betel leaves from the *wilkoraha* as a sign o
favour from the youngest of the Rahu Yaku. Then both wen
to the *maesa*, looked at the offering, and then fell back into the
supporters' arms. We were told that the *yaka* was well please
with the offering and was about to depart from them, but Ni
sang the invocation and soon the two dancers began to tremb
and shake their heads, then shouting hah! hah! they spran
forward and danced again. They picked up their *kaduwas* fro
the *wilkoraha*, where they had been put for safety, this bein
considered a sufficiently sacred spot. Using the leaves whic
formed the hilts of their swords, they scooped out the cocon
milk from the *wilkoraha* and scattered it about, and those o
whom it happened to fall considered themselves lucky. The
the *yaka* spoke to Nila saying that he wished to go, and Ni
answered "It is well." But before the *yaka* left Handuna an
Kaira, the two men danced toward that side of the cleared sp
where the women and children were grouped together, raisin
their *kaduwas* and pointing at the group. One woman wa
[755] carrying a baby suffering from yaws, and Handuna held hi
*kaduwa* over the child's head and promised that its sores shoul
be cured. Then Handuna and Kaira gave their *kaduwas* t
Nila; both bent their heads over the *maesa* and the *yaka* left them.

791 The necklace was replaced on the *wilkoraha* which was pu
with the *kaduwas* on the *maesa*. Handuna and Kaira repeate
a charm over them and all were removed from the *maesa*.
Handuna picked a few leafy twigs, put them under a tree,
then took the leaves from the *kaduwas* and placed them o
the freshly picked leaves, so that the hallowed leaves migh
not touch the ground; he then poured the remains of th
coconut milk from the *wilkoraha* over them.

Plate XLVIII

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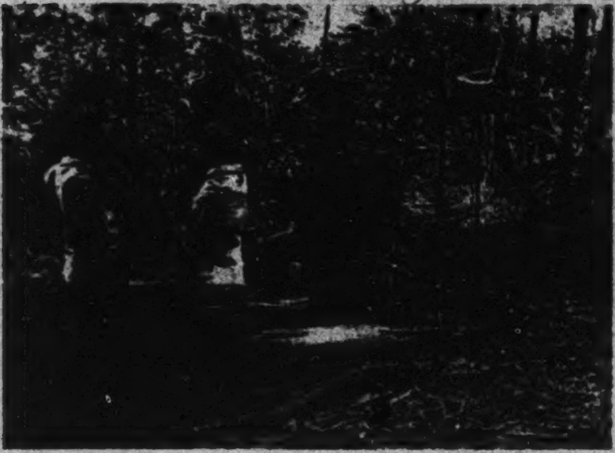

Fig. 1. Rahu Yaka ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Sitala Wanniya)*

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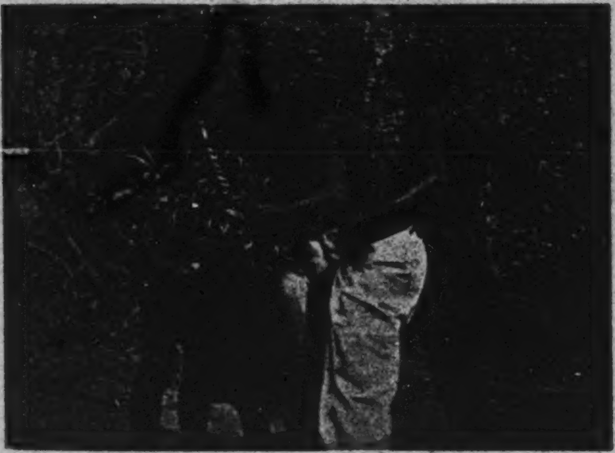

Fig. 2. Rahu Yaka ceremony, the shaman prophesies good luck in hunting and honey gathering (Sitala Wanniya)*

[facing p.258]

When later we asked Handuna for the *kaduwas* as specimens, 796 the request was not granted until something was given in exchange to the Rahu Yaku, as Handuna said they might cause trouble if their property were taken from them.

## WANAGATA YAKU.

The story of the Wanagata Yaku was that once a family 776 became imprisoned in their rock-shelter by the fall of rock 773 which blocked the entrance to the cave, so that the whole family died and their spirits became Wanagata Yaku, who are now invoked for help in hunting. In spite of this the ceremonial with which these *yaku* are invoked did not appear to have any reference to the story.

A sapling rather more than six feet high with its head and 796 branches was stripped of its bark and thrust into the ground in 535 the centre of the space cleared for dancing; its upper end had 778 been split previously so as to form a support for small objects, and long strands of bast were tied to it. A handkerchief was thrown over the top and pressed down between the split ends, and some betel leaves were placed on this.

The shaman wearing a *hangala* danced slowly round the 796 post with a handkerchief in his hand, while the invocation was 535 sung. The handkerchief was soon exchanged for an *aude*, and it was noted that this was not the same one that had been used when invoking Kande Yaka in a previous dance. In order to avoid putting the handkerchief on the ground the shaman tied it round his shoulder. Then taking some betel leaves he danced with these and the *aude* in his hands, then transfixing the betel leaves on the point of the *aude* he raised them to his head, thus offering them to the Wanagata Yaku (Plate XLIX, fig. 1). Soon he became possessed and bent his head, shaking his hair over his face as he clung to the post with one hand while his whole body quivered and shook. With a shout he seized two *aude*, and holding one in each hand came to one of us (C. G. S.) and holding both *aude* over his shoulders said, as he quivered and shifted from one foot to the other, "You have called us, what do you want?" He returned to the post, when a rice

796 535 mortar was brought and a bowl containing coconut milk in which betel leaves floated was placed upon it. The shaman placed a betel leaf from the bowl on the *aude* and presented one to each of us in turn, as a sign of favour on the part of the Wanagata Yaku, speaking in a hoarse gasping voice and raising his arms alternately the while. He returned to the post, and, grasping the bast streamers, bent his head (Plate XLIX, fig. 2) and quivered all over before dancing round it with both *aude* in his hands; finally he clasped the post with bowed head, and the *yaku* left him.

## THE ALUTYAKAGAMA CEREMONY AT UNUWATURA BUBULA

796 The structure of the *alutyakagama* is well shown in a number of the figures illustrating this ceremony, and is especially clear in fig. 1 of plate LII.

9 It seems probable that this is not a pure Vedda ceremony, but is to be regarded as an amalgamation of a dance to Kande Yaka and the Nae Yaku, whom this people called the Alutyaka (i.e. New Yaku), and of a dance to Gale Yaka only met with under this name here and at Omuni. We were unable to determine whether the *alutyakagama* structure had always been used when dancing to Gale Yaka, and had been carried from his cult to that of the Nae Yaku, or had long been considered necessary for the invocation of the Nae or Alut Yaku. Perhaps neither of these events occurred; indeed, we consider it most probable that both dances have been confused with the *kolomaduwa* or one of its early forms such as the *ruwala* ceremony which is described later on in this chapter, and which is almost certainly of foreign origin.

Unuwatura Bubula is a small and extremely poor settlement of Veddas, of whom a general description has been given on p. 47.

796 535 The dance began by Sela Kaurala repeating an invocation with a handkerchief on his head[1], while Naida Kaurala holding

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[177] [1] Unfortunately we have no exact note stating to whom this invocation was sung. It is most probable that it was to Gale Yaka, as this was the *yaka* by whom the shaman was first possessed. If this is so the fact of the handkerchief being held over the head is of interest, as Mr Parker identifies Gale Yaka with the Sinhalese Gale Deviya who is depicted with a three-tiered hat, which is also worn by his dancer, called

Plate XLIX

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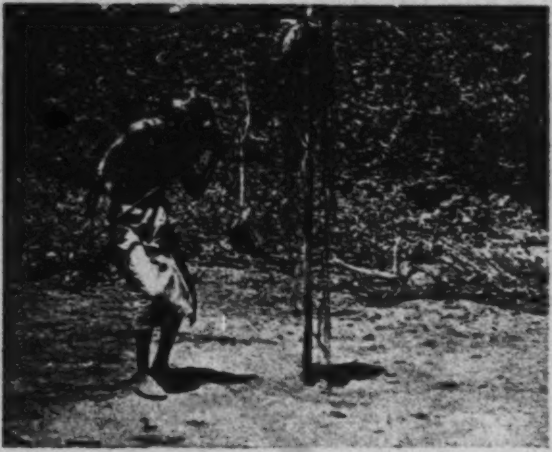

Fig. 1. Wanagata Yaku ceremony, the shaman offers betel leaves to the Yaku (Unuwatura Bubula)

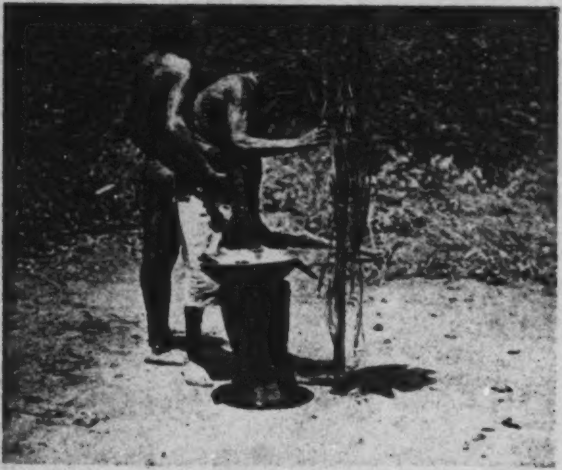

Fig. 2. Wanagata Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed by the Yaku (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 260]

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a handkerchief between his hands danced first round the *alutyakagama*, and then in and out between the posts, at times holding the handkerchief over his head (Plate L, fig. 1). We were told that these handkerchiefs would be kept apart for the *yaku* and would never be used for any purpose other than dancing. The shaman, Sela Kaurala, soon became agitated and was supported, and the Gale Yaka entered his person. Now he assumed the rapt expression of one possessed, pulled down his hair, and with a shout caught hold of the leaves hanging from the *alutyakagama*, where he continued to dance in and out of the structure, shaking and hitting the hanging leaves as he passed, but frequently stopping at the west front to take hold of the bunches of leaves while quivering all over and shouting (Plate L, fig. 2). Now a rice-mortar was brought into the *alutyakagama*, and the shaman placed the offering of cooked food upon it for the *yaku* to see and appreciate the good things provided. The *aude* was then placed on the rice pot, and the shaman, holding the leaves with both hands, shouted and shook his head, and then, taking an *aude* in either hand, picked up a few grains of rice on one of them (Plate LI, fig. 1), which he smelt, and although he did not eat them the *yaka* now pronounced the food to be good. About this time the shaman became possessed by one of the *Nae Yaku*. Three times the shaman inspected the rice, being possessed by a different *Nae Yaku* each time, and each spirit shouted his satisfaction. We were unable to discover the names of these as the shaman was taken ill after this dance, but there seemed no doubt that the dancer would know the *Nae Yaku* by whom he had been possessed. The shaman now wore two long necklaces of beads, putting them round his neck and under his arms, so as to form cross shoulder ornaments; we were told that these were for the *yakini*, but we were unable to discover whether this was one of the Alut Yakini or Gale Yakini who was mentioned in this locality.

The ceremony continued for some time as before, the shaman frequently shaking the leaves, shouting and gasping, and again inspecting the food. There was very little dancing, but this may

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*ennatirala*, when dancing to him. Sometimes, however, when a three-tiered hat could not be obtained the dancer held a handkerchief over his head.

[177]

Plate I.

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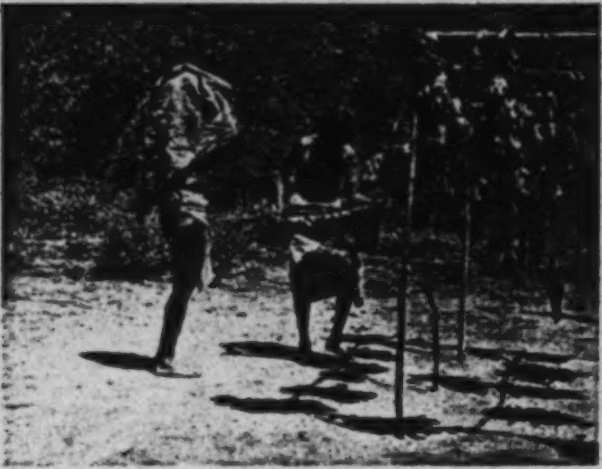

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, the beginning of the invocation (Unuwatura Bubula)

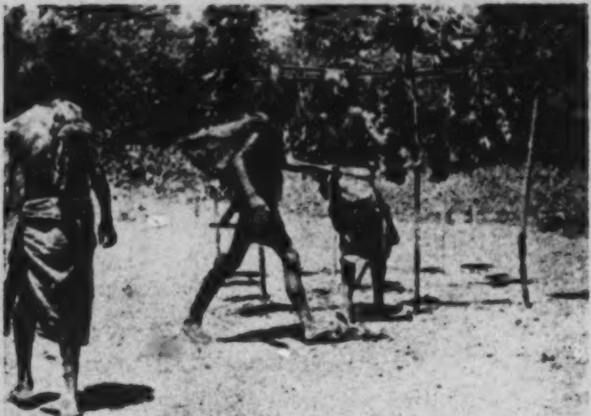

Fig. 2. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman and his supporter at the *alutyakagama* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 261 a]

Plate LI

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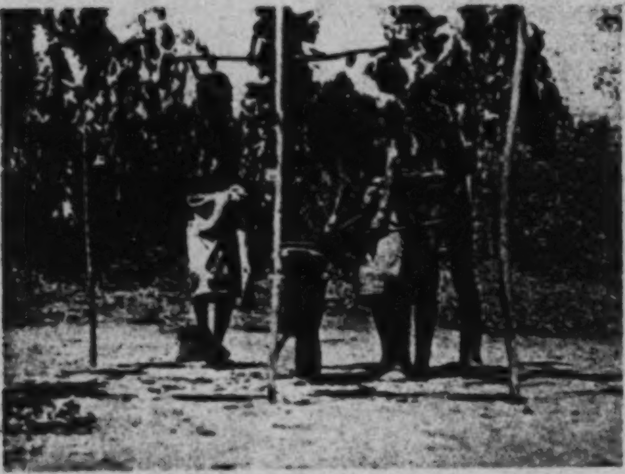

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, testing the offering (Unuwatura Bubula)

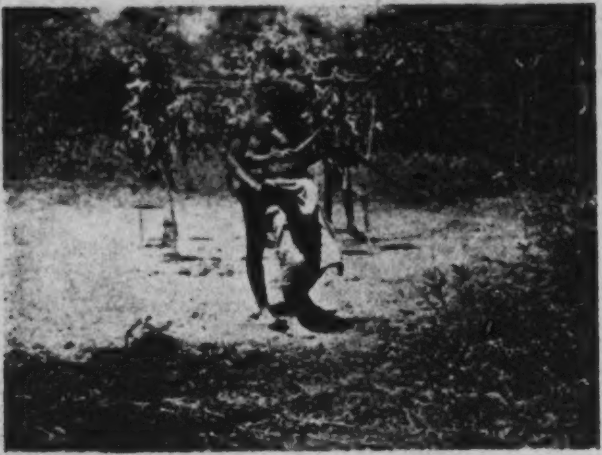

Fig. 2 Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman comes to us with an *aude* in each hand (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 261 b]

have been because the shaman was an old man who suffered from a severe cough. At one time, instead of picking up the rice with an *aude*, he did it with the corner of his handkerchief. Great care was always taken that neither the *aude*, the beads nor the handkerchief should be put on the ground, and when the shaman wanted to get rid of either of the two former he placed them on the rice pot; at one time when he did not require the handkerchief he tied it over his shoulder, for to place anything belonging to the *yaku* on the ground would be to offer a serious insult to them.

After some time the first rice pot was removed, and a second one was brought. Sela Kaurala squatted beside it and sang, while Naida Kaurala danced with the handkerchief in his hands. One pot of food was for the *yaka*, and one for the *yakini*. The shaman exchanged the handkerchief for an *aude* and danced with that, but soon picked up another *aude* and danced with one in each hand singing an invocation (No. XXXVII). Now he became possessed by Rahu Yaka, with the usual accompaniment of shivering and quaking and pulling at the leaves hanging from the *alutyakagama*. Some grass was brought and put under the *alutyakagama*; this was lit, and the shaman danced on the fire: more shaking and holding of the leaves followed, and then with an *aude* in each hand, which he held by the blades, he approached us (Plate LI, fig. 2) and spoke. He returned to the *alutyakagama*, and, holding the leaves with both hands, bent over the rice pot, and then danced round and in and out of the structure, hitting the pendant leaves. Meanwhile the Rahu Yaka song was repeated; at last stopping at the west side he bent his head over the rice pot and fell back. After a short rest Sela Kaurala put on the *hangala* and danced in the same way that Naida Kaurala had done, becoming possessed by Gale Yaka. There was no exceptional feature in this dance; the shaman danced at one time with the handkerchief and afterwards with the *aude*, and inspected the food, and there was much holding on to the leaves and shaking and speaking in the hoarse *yaka* voice. Before the *yaka* left the shaman he took the rice pot from the pounder and spun it (Plate LII, fig. 1); the second pot of food was brought and he spun that too. After the *yaka* had left him the shaman,

Plate LII

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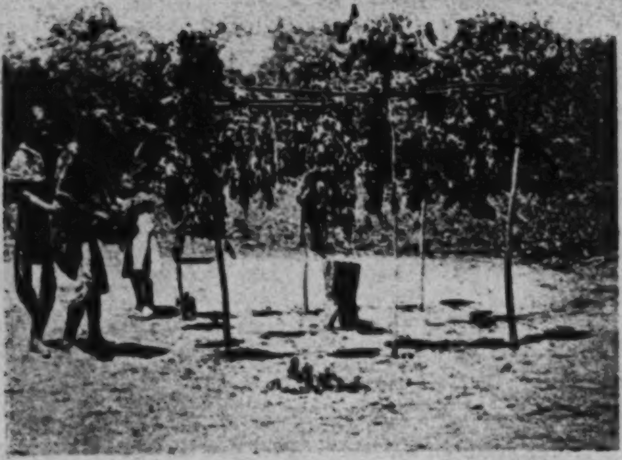

Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman about to spin the pot of food (Unuwatura Bubula)

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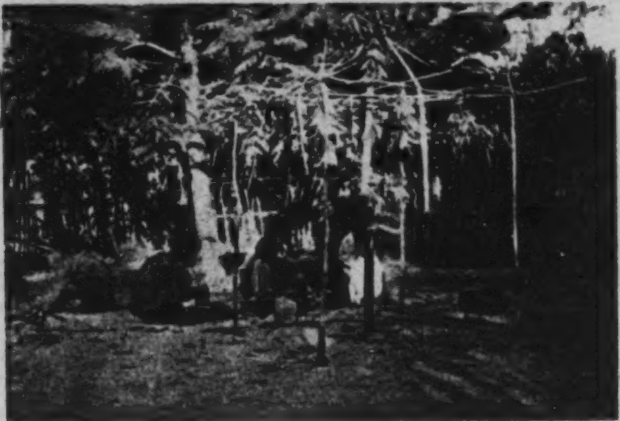

Fig. 2. Ruwala ceremony, the *ruwala* prepared by Wannaku of Uniche (Maha Oya)

[facing p.262]

still dancing, stripped the leaves from the *alutyakagama*, and, holding on to the horizontal cross bar, shook the framework violently in order to drive away any of the *yaku* who might still be resting there. 796 535

Unfortunately we were not able to get much trustworthy information about this or any of the other dances at Unuwatura Bubula, as Sela Kaurala, who appeared to suffer from asthma and chronic bronchitis, coughed up a good deal of blood after this dance, and was unable to discuss the ceremony with us afterwards. His pupil, Naida Kaurala, was not nearly so well informed. There were several points which we were unable to settle satisfactorily; Gale Yaku, we were told, were many and not one Yaka, yet Gale Yaka or Yaku seemed confused with Kande Yaka, for we were told that the big *aude* was for Kande Yaka and the smaller one for Bilindi Yaka. Nevertheless the shaman held both when dancing to Gale Yaka, and he spun the pot of rice, which in several other communities had been done by the shaman when possessed by Kande Yaka. [114]

## THE RUWALA CEREMONY.

This ceremony was danced by the Veddas of Unicha. It began by Wannaku, who was wearing a *hangala* of new white cloth, moving slowly round the centre post of the *ruwala* holding a bunch of leaves in each hand and reciting an invocation to Ruwala Yaka and Yakini, who live on Nuwaragala. He stood close to the central pole of the *ruwala*, and at first faced towards the north, that is, *not* in the direction of Nuwaragala but towards the quarter whence came the *yaku* who live on Nuwaragala and other hills who are invoked in this dance. These *yaku* were not the spirits of the dead, but had always existed as *yaku*. The original home was on the other side of the ocean in Handun Kaele, the "sandal-wood jungle," which the educated, but not the peasant, Sinhalese recognise as being in India. Long ago the *yaku* made a raft and crossed the ocean, and the sail (Sin. *ruwala*) and mast of their raft are represented by the centre pole (*ruwala*) of the structure of that name, while the streamers represent the "silver" and "golden" stays of their mast.

796 Plate LII, fig. 2 shows the *ruwala* built by Wannaku and his
535 comrades at Maha Oya.

The dance began by Wannaku moving slowly round the
796 central post. As he did this he sometimes waved the bundle of
535 leaves which he held in his hands, at other times he held his
756 hands close together in front of his body. As his dancing became quicker and more vigorous, Sina, his eldest son, placed himself behind him, and following his movements prepared to support him when he became possessed. Suddenly Wannaku fell forward assuming a cruciform attitude, his arms held stiffly at right angles to his body and his neck rigidly extended so that his head was pressed against the centre post of the *ruwala*, his supporter bearing the whole strain of holding him in this position. He still grasped the leaves in his hands, and his face was buried in the leaves tied to the centre post of the *ruwala*. He remained in this position for perhaps half a minute, then shaking violently he clutched the post in both hands. It was explained that the *yaku* were in the leaves tied to the *ruwala*, and that thence they passed into the body of the shaman, in whose shaking and quivering person they inspected and approved the structure of the *ruwala*, while the shaman clutched the central post. After a few moments the shaman danced again, this time more energetically than before, moving in and out of and round the structure of the *ruwala*, while he struck at the leaves pendant from its framework with the twigs he held in his hands. His movements became more violent, and he shouted several times. All this was explained as play on the part of the *yaku*, who thus showed their pleasure in the *ruwala* that had been built for them. Wannaku clutched at the side posts and bast streamers, and struck these with the leaves he held in his hands. The *yaku* thus examined the streamers to ascertain if they were properly made and of the right number. Wannaku then danced very energetically, and leaving the *ruwala* dragged Sina to where Mr Perera stood a few paces from the *ruwala*, and shaking and gesticulating violently spoke to him promising him success in all he undertook[1].

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[1] Mr Samuel Perera, Forest Ranger, was an old friend of the Uniche community, and it was owing to his presence and assistance at our first interview with Wannaku and his fellows that we were immediately on the best of terms with them.

Wannaku again danced in and out and round the structure, 796
then after striking the leaves and clutching the uprights of the 535
*ruwala* he dragged his supporter towards an elderly Vedda onlooker, before whom he quivered and shouted as he had done 786
before Mr Perera. We were told that in this case he prophesied success in hunting. After this he returned to the *ruwala*, and, still dancing and quivering, took a streamer in his left hand and shouting and dancing wiped its length with the bunch of leaves that he held in his right hand. He began this manœuvre at the east front of the *ruwala*, and taking each streamer in turn, went round in the opposite direction to the hands of a clock, but he soon turned and went round the reverse way; we were afterwards told that he should have gone clockwise all the time, and that when he did otherwise "it was a mistake." After this he danced round the central post, clutching at the leaves that hung from the roof of the *ruwala*, and at last moving so energetically and violently as to get away from his supporter Sina, who had been following his movements as best he could. About this time Sina himself became possessed, and after a few moments of extremely energetic dancing both men fell supine at the north front of the *ruwala*. Wannaku came to himself almost immediately, but Sina appeared to remain unconscious, even when lifted up and propped against the central post of the *ruwala*, while Wannaku shook bunches of leaves in his face and over his head, Wannaku meanwhile dancing energetically and repeating two words, to which the onlookers answered "Eh-h." We were told that the *yaku* in this way announced their satisfaction with the *ruwala* which had been built for them, and indicated that they were now ready to go.

Then Wannaku stumbled to the central post, to which he clung in a seemingly exhausted condition, partly supported by a Vedda, who had been following him since Sina fell to the ground. As Sina, who had been helped up by another man, still appeared in a semi-conscious condition, water was splashed over him, with the result that he soon came to himself. This was the end of the ceremonial as far as Ruwala Yaka and Ruwala Yakini were concerned, but after a short break another Vedda invoked two other *yaku*, Milalane Yaka and Milalane

776 Yakini, who live on a hill called Milalanegala. This Vedda
535 danced in very much the same way as Wannaku had danced,
786 and the few differences noted, such as his less energetic steps,
were doubtless due to personal idiosyncrasy. However, he did
not bury his head in the leaves tied to the central post on
becoming possessed, but shook the leaves which he held in his
right hand in his own face, having previously struck these
against those pendant from the *ruwala*. After dancing for a
short time he staggered up to Wannaku and spoke, the spirits
possessing him asking why they were called and whether there
was sickness amongst the people. To this Wannaku answered
"No," telling the spirits that he had called them at the request
of the white man who wished to know them. After this the celebrant
again danced in and out of and round the *ruwala*, striking
at the pendant leaves. Soon he buried his head in the leaves
tied to the central post, his whole body quivering, then he quickly
jumped away from the pole and made his way to the Ratemahatmaya
of the district, who was an onlooker, and shook the
leaves in his right hand against the latter's chest, telling him he
would be successful in the business he was about to undertake.
This was in answer to a question that the Ratemahatmaya had
shouted a short time previously. There was more dancing round
the central pole, the performer striking it with the leaves which
he held in his hand; after a few minutes he approached
Wannaku, and striking him with the leaves said something,
and again danced round the central pole which he seized in his
hand and shook four times, once facing each of the cardinal
points of the compass, shouting loudly as he did so. This was
the means adopted by the *yaku* to test the solidity of the
structure. We were told that this dance was generally performed
[755 in order to cure sickness, and if the pole fell or the
787 structure came to pieces the patient for whose benefit it took
place would die or others would become ill. At last with many
quiverings and clutchings at the central post the *yaku* took their
departure.

796 A similar dance lasting a shorter time, during which the
dancer was possessed by Moranegala Yaka, then took place,
535 after which Wannaku, who appeared to have quite recovered

from his previous fatigue, invoked Walimabagala Yaka and Yakini. The dancing of these *yaku* exactly resembled that described at the beginning of the ceremony, and is therefore not further recorded. 796 535

## THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

It seems very doubtful whether the *kolamaduwa* as it exists at the present day should be described as a Vedda ceremony at all, though as it was danced by the Henebedda Veddas at Bandiyagalge it merits a description. 755 535 177 It is in any case certain that the *kolamaduwa* is not often performed, as the amount of food and other properties necessary could scarcely have been found by one small Vedda community[1]; also its main objects, the curing of disease in cattle and epidemic sickness among men, would not appeal greatly to small communities of hunters dwelling in healthy surroundings. At the present day the Henebedda Veddas make rough chena and herd cattle for the Sinhalese, but the cattle have not yet become an important factor in their lives, and the people themselves do not suffer from epidemics. Further, at Bandaraduwa, on the borders of the Eastern Province, the only other place where this dance was known among Veddas, we were told that they would perform it for the Sinhalese, and that each dancer would be paid Rs. 5 for his trouble besides being given his food. Our aged Sinhalese informant, mentioned on p. 31, told us that the *kolamaduwa* was not danced by these Veddas when he was a boy, and that he considered it had arisen as an elaboration of the *ruwala* ceremony which used to be performed in those days. The *ruwala*—already described in this chapter—itself shows signs of having been introduced from the Tamils of the east coast, though probably at a comparatively remote period. Great numbers of *yaku* and *yakini* should be invoked at the *kolamaduwa*; some,

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[1] According to Tissahami all the following offerings were necessary for a full ceremony. Eight measures of rice and two large pots in which to cook it, 10 coconuts, 8 bundles of yams, 50 plantains, 2 sugar canes, 200 betel leaves, 12 candles, 1 lb. sandal wood, 100 balls of jaggery, ½ lb. turmeric, 1 lb. of resin, 4 coloured cloths, 8 yards of white cloth, 4 necklets of beads, 8 small baskets and 8 cloths to cover them, 4 pairs of metal bangles, 1 bottle of ghee and flowers of various kinds. 782

the spirits of people who frankly were not Veddas, such as
765 Peradeniya Bandar; others, spirits of men like Panikki Vedda
536 already referred to, famous for catching elephants and buffaloes,
177 who were Veddas in little more than name. Others, if Veddas
in name, yet behaved like Kandyan chiefs, if we may judge from
their deeds quoted in the invocations, such as building dagabas
and bringing paddy fields under cultivation. Some of the Maha
Yakini are regarded as the wives of such chiefs, and Unapane
Kiriamma is in this community regarded as the wife of
Unapane Wanniya, the chief who first brought the paddy
fields at Unapane under cultivation.

## THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY AT BENDIYAGALGE.

796 This was admittedly not a full ceremony. Although the
535 bower was built the correct offerings were not made nor were
778 all the *yaku* invoked, and a disturbance which took place the
next evening was said to be due to the anger of the *yaku* on
account of the lack of offerings (see p. 125). Plate LIII, fig. 1
shows the *kolamaduwa* with bunches of leaves hanging from the
horizontal bars of the framework and a circle of leaves called
*kolavegena* suspended from the centre, that is, the crossing of the
horizontal bars. The shaman, Sita Wanniya, Randu Wanniya
and Kaira, holding bunches of leaves in their hands, walked
round the circle within the upright posts while they sang an
invocation to the *yaku* to come to the leaves of the *kolamaduwa*.
Soon they began to dance (Plate LIII, fig. 2) with the usual step,
gently at first, but gradually swaying and bending more and
more they brushed the leaves of the *kolamaduwa* with those
they held in their hands at each step.

A basket covered with a cloth had been placed on a tripod
in one corner of the bower, and this should have contained
various offerings for the *yakini*, including flowers and beads;
796 not having either to offer, a few leaves had been put in it.
535 Sita Wanniya seized this basket called *pakudama*, and danced
with it in both hands, then after a short time he shouted "Ah, ah!"
and became possessed by the Maha Yakini. When the Sita

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX1 Vedda AX5

796
535
778

Plate LIII

Fig. 1. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the kolamaduwa (Henebedda)

Fig. 2. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Henebedda)

[facing p. 268a]

Plate LIV

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Fig. 1. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the shaman and Sita Wanniya become possessed (Henebedda)*

Fig. 2. Kolamaduwa ceremony, slashing the leaves from the kolamaduwa (Henebedda)*

[facing p. 268b]

Wanniya picked up the basket the shaman put his head inside 796
the circle, and a Vedda immediately made ready to support him 535
if he should fall. The shaman, now possessed, held on to the horizontal pieces and trembled violently, while his head and the upper part of his body were hidden by the leaves. Soon he left it and danced in and out of the *kolamaduwa*, followed closely by a Vedda ready to support him. Sita Wanniya hid himself in the leaves of the circle in the same way for a few seconds, his whole body swaying to and fro the while. On leaving the *kolavegena* he danced about wildly, but soon returned to put his head into the circle again, and then, swaying and tottering, danced up to us, and, speaking with the voice of the *yakini*, said, "Why have you called us? there is nothing in this basket for us, and there is no food provided." Then he returned to the circle, into which he thrust his head, while several men surrounded him and fanned him with leaves. When he emerged he again came to us, and in the person of the *yakini* asked us for bangles, and again returned to the *kolavegena*; then several of the dancers pushed their heads into it at once. Sita Wanniya returned to us and placed the basket on each of our heads in turn, presumably as a sign of favour. Then the shaman put his head into the *kolavegena*, and all the other dancers, having put down their bunches of leaves, now held peeled sticks to represent swords, and raised these over the shaman's head, and then slashed the leaves off the *kolamaduwa* (Plate LIV, fig. 2). Shouting and gasping, they all came to us, those possessed by the *yaku* gasping out that they must leave; then they returned to the *kolamaduwa* and danced in and out, raising and crossing their sticks. This was continued for a little while, the shaman several times putting his head into the circle and all using their sticks as before. The spirits left those who were possessed quietly, without producing collapse, and the performers ended the dance by silently putting their sticks on the top of the *kolavegena*, this being done to avoid putting them on the ground, as they were now sacred to the *yaku*.

After the dance the shaman cut the *kolavegena* from off the *kolamaduwa* and tore off the leaves still remaining on it, in order to prevent the *yaku* returning to it.

## THE AVANA CEREMONY.

796 The *avana* ceremony which we saw at Henebedda may be
described here. Mr Bibile told us that he had heard of it having been performed in his father's time by Sinhalese in the neighbourhood of Bibile, and the former Korala of Bakiella in the Eastern Province, a man particularly versed in magic and spiritual matters, knew all about this custom, while on the other hand many Veddas did not know of it. Our impression is that we are here dealing with an original Vedda custom, consisting of an offering of part of the game killed, which has been modified by the peasant Sinhalese of the Vedda country, and again adopted from them in its modified form by the Veddas.

The following account of the *avana* custom records what we
796 actually saw done on the night of February 7th, at Henebedda
224 on the occasion of the death of a fine buck. The stag, which
782 had been shot a short distance from Bendiyagalge caves, was
carried to a convenient slab of rock between our camp and the caves and there cut up, an arrow being most skilfully used to skin and disjoint the animal; the throat was opened low down in the front of the neck, one or more big veins being severed, and three double handfuls of blood were smeared upon a heap of *mora* leaves which had previously been laid on a rock. Then six long narrow pieces of muscle called *anda malu* (eel flesh, because the strips of muscle are long like eels) were cut from the root of the neck as well as two morsels from the tongue, the nostril and the ears. These twelve pieces of meat, constituting
796 the offering called *avana*, were put on the blood-smeared leaves
782 for the Kadawara Yaku, who were said to be the spirits of eleven
Veddas who were named and described as follows:

773 Avana Vedda, the first Vedda who instituted the rite.

Lē Vedda, the first man who smeared blood on the heap of leaves.

Mas Vedda, the first man who laid meat upon the heap of leaves.

Buta Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who sent the animal whose blood and flesh were used at the first *avana* ceremony.

Atu Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who makes noises in the

forest near the hunter to make him believe that the game he is 796
following has run away. 782

Bedi Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who breaks sticks and causes 773
dead branches to fall and so frighten game away.

Kili Mas Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who cut up the animal whose flesh and blood were used at the first *avana.*

Polu Mas Vedda, who smoked part of the meat of this animal.

Melihi Vedda, the *yaka* who blinds hunters so that they cannot track the wounded game.

Ahuru Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first snapped his fingers to call his dogs.

Ihurun Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first whistled to his dogs to come hunting.

These eleven *yaku* are considered strong enough to kill [753]
folk and to send sickness; it appeared to us that the individuals of this group were not carefully differentiated but rather regarded as one power.

The Korala of Bakiella who has already been mentioned 796
said that a leaf cone (*goṭuwa*) containing blood was placed 782
on a heap of leaves with flesh from the throat, tongue and ears
of the kill and the whole offered to the 64,000 Maralu Yaku and 177
64,000 Kadawara Yaku. The leaf cone is a distinctly Sinhalese 539
feature and the ceremony described by the Korala had become entirely Sinhalese in character. This is borne out by the invocation which was written down for us by the Korala.

*Atu avanē lē dena mantraya Kaḍawara Rīri Yakaṭa Yakinniṭa.*

*Vētāla niwara sīnāpoti bisawun wahansēge hradaya palā bihi unu Kaḍawēra Riri Yakshayā Yakshinīṭa atu awanak aetun koṭu awanak aetun, amu mas amu riri aetun.*

*Adat mama anḍagasā kaepa kera dennē. Mama yana issaraṭa rubera an munayak genādiṇ, ellē pāḍu kera dīlā, veḍī munē is(sara)ṭa kera dīla, amaren giyat* (*a*) *mareṇ piṭat wilā, marana patkera dīlā, waessī langaṭa mīden ennā wāgē, kambe kanuweṭa magul aetek baenda palikera wāge, ella pāḍu* (*ka*) *ra denḍa Kaḍawera Riri Yakshayā Yakshīgen warami.*

796 "The invocation to Kaḍawara Rīri Yakā and Yakinī, when presenting blood in the shelter (made) of branches.

782 "There was (on a former occasion) an (open) shelter of
177 branches, there was an enclosed shelter, there were fresh meat
539 and fresh blood for the Kaḍawara Rīri Yakshayā and Yakshinī, who having guarded (?) the pool of the General Queen at Vētāla Nuwara (the Goblin city) became demons.

"To-day also having summoned (you) I present the (same) offering. Before I go I solicit from the Kaḍawara Rīri Yakshayā and Yakshinī that they will bring a head with beautiful horns (to me), that they will make good all deficiencies, make my shots unerring [lit. present (the game) before the point of the shot], should I get into difficulty that they will overcome it, decree that I shall kill (game), (enable me) to approach a calf (fem.) like the buffalo cow comes up (to it) [i.e. without alarming it], rope a lucky tusk-elephant to the post, as though defending it (?), and that they will make good all deficiencies."

The above transliteration and translation have been prepared by Mr Parker who points out that the written invocation is full of errors, and therefore difficult to translate, but it does not contain any "Vaedi expressions" and "only a few difficult words." We have consulted Mr Parker in the hope that he might be able to throw some light on the matter of the origin of the *avana*, but although his remarks are in many ways interesting and suggestive, they do not really explain the origin of the ceremony, though he is inclined to agree with us that the ceremony is of Vedda origin[1].

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[1] Mr Parker writes: "The Sinhalese have also some Vaedi Yakas though these have no connection with the eleven spirit yakas of your ceremony, who are chiefly protective. There are also 'Vaedi' Kadawara who are minor subordinates of the Kohomba (Margosa) demon or Yaka. *Kaḍawara* is a compound Tamil word meaning, according to a story that was related to me both in Ceylon (N.C.P.) and at the Tanjore temple, 'the celestial who escaped' compression by Siva the Indian god, when he clasped in his embrace six others created by his wife, and thus made them into the Katarngam God Skanda, the Indian war God, called also Kanda Kumara, with six faces and twelve arms."

# CHAPTER X

## INVOCATIONS

THE translations of the invocations given in this chapter have been made by Mr H. Parker who has spared no pains in working out very complicated and often incomplete material. The invocations themselves were written down by our interpreters to the dictation of the Veddas, and thus naturally contained a certain number of mistakes and contractions. These are noted and explained by Mr Parker, and it should be realised that the philological and mythological explanations appended to many invocations are entirely his work and are therefore placed between inverted commas. 782 126

Neither the Veddas themselves, nor our interpreters, could give a translation of some of the invocations or even explain the meaning. In others no translation could be supplied and it was noted in the field that the meaning was probably only correct in a broad sense. In yet other invocations more or less accurate translations of the words themselves were given, but the significance could not be determined. Under these circumstances we have thought it best to give Mr Parker's translation in every case, indicating how this differs in sense from the version given us in the field in those instances in which we have reason to believe that our field version peculiarly expresses what our informants believed to be the meaning of the invocation.

These invocations fall into two main groups; the first, distinguished by their simple form, are straightforward requests to the spirits of the dead to provide game and yams, or to show their loving kindness by partaking of the food provided by their descendants. The second group although embracing a con- 782

782 siderable range of beliefs are all longer and more complicated, and often contain references to events which happened before the spiritual beings to whom they are addressed attained their full power as *yaku*.

For convenience the invocations are consecutively numbered and grouped according to their purpose, for we believe that this arrangement, though not ideal, is on the whole the most suitable[1]. In each group the invocations progress from simple to more complicated.

It will be noted that in many if not all of these invocations 782 animals and articles of food are not mentioned by their usual 192 name, but are called by some other name or described by 198 a periphrasis. A special vocabulary, largely but not entirely the same as that used in invoking the *yaku*, is used by the Veddas when hunting and indeed whenever travelling through the jungle. The relation of this jungle language to the other languages of the island will be discussed in Chapter XV, meanwhile it is only necessary to note that in one form or another it is spread over a great part of the island and that it is known by the name *kaele basa* "jungle language." The object of the *kaele basa* has been well explained by Mr Parker who has allowed me to take the following quotation from the proof-sheets of his work *Ancient Ceylon*. "Strange to say, the Kandian Sinhalese and the Wanniyas apparently imitate the Vaeddas while they are hunting in the forests,...and use another series of expressions...for many...animals, to the exclusion of the usual names for them. They have acquired a belief that unless a

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[1] An alternative arrangement would have been to group these invocations geographically; the following list will enable the reader to do this with ease.

"List of Invocations and the localities from which each were collected.

Bandaraduwa. Nos. 7, 15, 26, 34.
Bulugahaladena. Nos. 9, 10.
Dambani. Nos. 2, 12, 13.
Godatalawa. Nos. 3, 5, 20, 24.
Henebedda. Nos. 14, 19, 21.
Kalukalaeba. No. 6.
Sitala Wanniya. Nos. 1, 11, 16, 18, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38.
Uniche. Nos. 8, 17, 22, 28.
Unuwatura Bubula. Nos. 25, 37.
Wellampelle. No. 4.

special dialect be employed while they are in the forest, they 782
cannot expect to meet with any success in seeking honey, or 192
hunting, or in avoiding dangerous animals. 198

"This dialect...consists of the employment of new words not only for animals but also for a few other nouns, and for verbs used to denote acts most commonly performed on such trips. In addition, all negative (that is, unlucky) modes of expression are totally debarred from use on such occasions, as well as the words meaning 'insufficient' and 'too much,' which are inauspicious as indicating dissatisfaction with the number or quantity to which they are applied."

Although in some instances the word used when addressing the *yaku* is not the precise word used by the same Veddas while hunting it is convenient, and we think reasonable, to regard the *yaku* language as a part of the *haele basa*.

The only other linguistic feature of these invocations that requires comment is the abundant use of the adjective *ran* "golden." The significance of this in a particular and somewhat puzzling instance is discussed in a footnote to invocation No. XXI, so that it suffices here to record our belief that among the Veddas the expression is laudatory and is the equivalent of "excellent," "admirable." In invocations used while collecting honey the expression "jewelled" is used with almost equal freedom, e.g. "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI, and is simply to be understood as a laudatory expression.

## INVOCATIONS TO THE NAE YAKU. 782 539

### Sitala Wanniya.

I. *Āyu bōwā. Āyu bōwā. Nae koṭṭarowi*[1], *nae siṅdowā.*
*Hudu hambā welaṭa aṭagaha duwanā karawā bunnā.*
*Kisi waradak sitanna epā, apiṭ kanawā bonawā.*

Salutation! Salutation! Part of (our) relatives!
Multitude of relatives! Having called (you) at the (right) time (we) gave (you) white sambā (rice); (you) ate, (you) drank. Do not think any wrong (of us); we also eat (and) drink.

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[1] *Koṭṭarowi* for *koṭṭāsaya*, a part, section.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

### Dambani.

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II. *E lowa giya apa appā me lowa warā. Depaţullan aenā kālāpin. Huđa mangaccapawu kankunā boţa dammanna, kabaraya boţa dammanna. Mē paengiri kola aenā kālāpin. Hani hanikaţa mangaccapawu. Ammalaya aetto kuđaţa mangaccapawu. Depaţullan aenā kālāpin, gal mīcoaā aenā kālāpin, paengiri kola aenā kālāpin. Kankunā boţa dammanna, kabaraya boţa dammanna hani haniyaţa mangaccapawu.*

Our father who went to that world come to this world. Take the rice. Come quickly to place (for us) the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer. Take this betel leaf. Come very quickly. Come quickly my mother's people. Take the rice, take the rock honey, take the betel leaf. To place the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer, come very quickly.

"*Depaţullan* from *depaţa*, 'double' and *ulą*, 'point.' Rice is the grain with two points, not rounded like millet.

"*Mangacca* from *man*, 'path,' and *gassanawā*, 'to strike (with the feet),' hence to proceed in either direction, that is, to come or to go.

"*Kankunā boţa*, 'the dirty-eared beast,' the sambar. The long ears of some animals are liable to become dirty inside with the wax, etc. and ticks often collect in them. Hence the application of the term 'the dirty-eared beast' to the sambar.

"*Kabaraya boţa*, 'the spotted beast,' the axis.

"*Paengiri kola*, 'sour leaf,' may include any leaf of acid taste for chewing, but the expression is especially applied to betel, as in the *kaele basa*. The commonest word for 'sour' is *aembul* but *paengiri* is also often used.

"*Aenā kālāpin* for *anna* (*aran*) *karāpan*, 'take.' In another invocation (No. IV) we have *aenā kālāñña*, 'I will make another's,' that is, 'I will present.'"

### Godatalawa.

III. *Ayu bōwā! Mal paennaē wannā. Ada rakshāwak nae. Bis bapuwwa ada denţa ōnaīyi. Hatarak pā aettanţa goyan allā denţa ōnaīyi. Eyin paeyin pussā anguru mas yakaţak oppu-kara dennayi. Ada raekuma rakshāwa balī baendala denţa ōnaīyi.*

Salutation[1]! Driver away of Vaeddas[2]. Today (there is) no livelihood

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[1] Lit. may life be long.

[2] *Mal paennaē wannā*. "The word *mal* in another invocation of the *Nai Yaku* is evidently applied to the Vaeddas, and therefore there cannot be much doubt re-
garding the meaning, here and elsewhere, of the expression *mal paennaē wannā*, whe

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Today you must give wild brinjal; you must allow the four-footed persons[1] to catch iguanas. Having roasted (part) of them in an hour[2], I will make and give (you an offering of) an altar (furnished with) meat (fried on) charcoal[3]. Today (you) must furnish (and) give protection (and) livelihood by (your) power.

## Wellampelle.

IV. *Depațullan aeno kālāñña, paengiri kola aenō kālāñña, gal micciyak aenō kālāñña appalaye aetianna mori yānak aeno kālāñña. Kankunā mayē ekața aenō kālāpa adana iti boța damā.*

I will present rice, I will present betel leaf, I will present rock honey, I will present an altar for the dead to (my) father's people. Make over as mine the sambar, having placed (for me) the wearing-spikes beast (i.e. the porcupine).

"*Aeno kālāñña* for *Anya karañña*, I will make another's, that is, I will present or make over.

"*Mori*, from root *mri* (Skt) to die.

"*Yānak* for *Yahanak*."

## Godatalawa.

It was stated that the following invocation was said to determine whether the deceased had attained power as a *yaka*.

V. *Hāmaduruwō, Alut wal paennae wannā, haskam tiyenawā hasbae nam eka wal manḍiyak wal marāgaņa ena wēlāța mața gawara māgallek hambawenḍa ōnae. Mē unkiri daluwața, mal paennae Wannā, eli bānawā.*

Lord, New Driver away of Vaeddas, if it be true that there are miracles[4], killing one wild iguana in the jungle at the time while coming I must meet with a sambar deer. (Be pleased) to drink[5], Driver away of Vaeddas, this young coconut[6].

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applied to the spirit of the recent dead. Dr Seligmann learnt that the cave in which a Vaedda has died is avoided by his relatives as a residence for several years afterwards; and this appears to afford a satisfactory explanation of the expression."

[1] Dogs, a *haelī bāsa* term.

[2] The Sinhalese unit of time here translated "hour" has a duration of twenty minutes.

[3] Lit. charcoal meat altar.

[4] "The words *haskam tiyenawā hasbae nam* 'if it be true that there are miracles' were explained to Dr Seligmann as signifying 'if it is true that you have attained power (or become powerful) as a *yaka*.'"

[5] "*eli bānawā* means 'having thrown down (the throat), to swallow.' In the *haelī bāsa*, *koța bānawā*, which means 'to eat,' is literally 'having chopped, to swallow.'"

[6] "*Unkiri daluwa* is 'the bud deficient in milk,' that is, the young coconut before the 'milk' is formed in it."

## Kalukalaeba.

VI. *Ayibō tamunnānsē raekima rakshāwa laebeṇna ōnae yana taeṇaṭa*
782 *ena taeṇaṭa ehen kiri dalu ītireṇna wāgē maha maedī*[1] *wārahan ennā wāgē*
539 *raekima rakshāwa diyunu diyunu karala denna ōnae.*

Hail. You must (cause us) to receive protection and means of support while going and returning. As the young shoot springs up from the eye (of the seed), as the south-west wind comes (causing) great delight, you must bestow two-fold two-fold protection and maintenance.

## Bandaraduwa.

VII. *Willin mārāl nangī siṭō, gangin marāl nangīt siṭō, pēliyen peliyaṭa williṭo no bin no bin kiyannā. Ayiyō Deyyā.*

From the pool the Brahmany kite has risen, from the river the Brahmany kite has also risen, from line to line at the pool (i.e. flying round it in circles) saying "no place, no place." Alas! O God.

"*Māralu* is a *kaelī bāsa* word for the Brahmany kite. Its cry is said by villagers to be *no bin, no bin*, one meaning of which is 'improper,' which does not appear to be suitable in this invocation. 'There is no place for me now' seems to be the meaning. The spirit of the deceased is compared to the kite which is accustomed to circle round high above the water, uttering this cry."

## Uniche.

VIII. *Pelaka nagā marāṇa gat, pelaka gangī marāṇa gat wiliṭa siṭagana no bin kiyālā.*

*Wanni allapu dunu kaṇu tīal simin simiṭat no bin kiyālā.*

*Me goḍanwala goḍa taraṇa mal kaḍanna kaḍanna mal aḍu welu.*

*Ayiyō, Deyiyā.*

The part (? of the dead) whom the cobra killed, (and) the part whom the river killed, having said "(There is) no place (for us)," are stopping at the pool[2].

The bow-sticks (and) arrows[3] seized in the Wanni (the forest), having said "(There is) no place (for them," go) from boundary to boundary (? in other people's possession).

(Through) continuing to break, in these lands, the Vaeddas[4] that pass over the land, the Vaeddas[4] have diminished. Alas, God!

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[1] *Maedī* is the genitive case of *maeda*, "pleasure," "delight," "rejoicing."

[2] "The context may possibly imply that the spirits of those who die of snake-bite or drowning are left to fly about like the kites, as homeless shades, that is as *prēta*."

[3] "This doubtless refers to the bows and arrows of the deceased."

[4] "The word here translated Vaeddas usually means 'flowers.' It is however quite clear that it is also used to mean 'Vaeddas,' cf. invocation No. III."

## Bulugahaladena.

IX. *Demaṭamali Demaṭamalā Koṭakaecci uccumbaye māhammā, uccumbaye māhappā depaṭullan pojja mālā weda māl puccal topanṭa aenō kālae wī topaenut haspallawu.* 782 539

Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā, excellent Great Mother (and) excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, (we) having washed rice in a pot (and) having roasted meat shot with the arrow, may they be made over to you. Eat ye also.

" *Uccumbaye* for *usaba*, excellent.

" Kotakaecci appears to be the name of a place.

" *Pojja* for *pocca*, pot.

" *Weda* for *vaidya* or *vidha*.

" *Māl* for *mālu*, meat.

" *Puccal* for *pulussalā*, roasted."

" Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā are two flower names, which like numerous others in Sinhalese are used as personal names. Demaṭamalā means flower of the *demata* tree (*Gmelina asiatica*) the last vowel being lengthened by the addition of *a*, as is usual in personal names. Demaṭamali is simply the feminine form."

X. *Demaṭamali uccumbaye mā ammā, Demaṭamalā Koṭakaecci uccumbaye maha appa kankunāwa, kabareya, hocca dikkā, mundi, perumā, gayi bokha mā maeda aenō kalapa aena baccapa.*

Demaṭamali, excellent Great Mother, Demaṭamalā excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, make over (and) take (and) send down (to us) the sambar, the axis deer, the pig, the iguana (fem.), the large buffalo (?), (and beehives) inside trees hollow (and) large.

" *Hocca dikkā*, 'the long-snouted one.'

" *Mundi* is the fem. of *mundā*, the noosed one.

" *Perumā*. This word is doubtful. It has the form of a *kaelī bāsa* word like the others, and thus must be descriptive of the animal; it may mean 'the large Great one.'

" *Gayi*, pl. of *gā*, tree.

" The word for beehives, *maekikaeli gam*, has been omitted."

## Sitala Wanniya.

XI. *Arō rajō Kappan selliya peṇena, nillin aeduru deyiyā Aluta Wanniyē, tamāgē haṇaṭa taṇaṭi hanī haḍukkan hinamaediran sī dilennaw balanna davana warew, Aluta Wanniyē.*

782 Kapunselliya (Monkeys' Hill) appears (like) the king of health (?), the god dark with verdure, O New Wanniyā. The ear-rings made for his ears shine[1]
538 like fire-flies. Come running to look (at it), O New Wanniyā.

Mr Parker writes: "This invocation is a poetical description of Monkeys' Hill, on which the fire-flies remind the reciter of shining ear-rings. The speaker of the invocation hopes by his glowing description to attract the 'new spirit.'" Our informants at Sitala Wanniya stated that Kapunselliya was a hill on the far side of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood) where their ancestors gathered honey. They said that the invocation first stated that Kapunselliya was dark, and they informed us that this was due to mist or fog. The invocation then appealed to the spirit invoked as "new Wanniya," asking that he should come running to see the ear-rings which had been prepared for his ears and which shone like fire-flies. In spite of the more practical appeal made to the *Nae Yaka* according to the Vedda version, this account coincides in essentials with Mr Parker's translation, since both agree that the object of the invocation is to attract the spirit of the deceased.

## Dambani.

XII. *Urōgamai gama Aembulōgamai gama wī aeṭa kehelan watti, pada kehelan wattē waetten de waetta kola wihudawana parakkarayi. Mē parak-kerana nilame nīlā ē Kamburā galaṭa waeḍalā pilumawan pāla idinnā wida.*

On some occasions (lit. from occasion to two occasions) in the wild plantain garden and the house (i.e. cultivated) plantain garden at both Urōgama village and Aembulōgama there is delay in the unfolding of the leaves. On account of this delay will the chief Nīlā having proceeded to that Kamburā-gala, by the great amount of (his) skill cause the trees to fruit and the fruit to ripen?

We give this invocation with all reserve. As stated elsewhere in this volume the Dambani folk are village Veddas accustomed to parade their "wildness," and it was difficult to work with them, so that it is not improbable that this formula has really nothing to do with the *Nae Yaku*. These remarks apply equally to the following invocation (No. XIII). Mr Parker suggests the possibility that it implied "that as the chief Nīlā could twice preserve the plantain trees he might have preserved the Vaeddas if he wished."

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[1] "Wrongly put in the Imperative mood."

XIII. *Acē midāna gaṇṇa nodennē Ākāsakālā Devī visin tamā, polowē mihi kaṭa gaṇṇa nodennē polowē Mihikat Devī visin tamā, kiri boṇa waccaṭa bonna nodennē Kande Alut Devī visin tamā.*

*Sat muhudē e dāsē siṭa me dāsēṭa ennēda nalalē palāgaṇa bo lalī ena welāwē, uḍu wiyan baendagaṇa waṭa wiyan baendagaṇa ennawa no weyi. Ran anduwa elli toraṇ atē elannē warē deva rode allāgaṇa ennawa. Eluwan allanno gawarayi allan hossa dikkā allanno enne newē.*

To take the hidden treasure of the sky is not permitted by the Goddess (of the sky) Ākāsakālā herself; on the earth to take the gems of the earth is not permitted by the Goddess of the earth, Mahikāntāwa herself; the milk drinking calf is not permitted to drink, by the new Goddess of the hill herself.

Are you coming from that country of the Seven Seas to this country, having split the forehead (i.e. made your appearance out of the forehead), and shaking violently at the very time when you come? You will not come (? unless we) have tied clothes overhead and have tied side cloths (at the shed or *maḍuwa*). Come and hold in your hand ornamental arches (*toraṇ*) in which is suspended a golden chain. You will come holding a divine wheel (?). Goat catchers, sambar deer catchers, pig catchers will not come (i.e. to ask your assistance on this occasion).

"*Acē* for *ākāsē*, in the sky.

"*Kaṭa* appears to equal *Kāntah*, a gem; or it is derived from the root *khan*, dig, excavate.

"*Wacca* for *wassā*, calf.

"*Anduwa* for *andu*, chain.

"*Rode* may be *rōdaya*, a wheel, but it does not occur elsewhere, and the meaning is doubtful.

"*Hossa dikkā*, 'long snout,' a *kaelē bāsa* word for pig."

With the possible exception of the reference to the "New Goddess of the Hill," which may refer to one of the Maha Yakini (Kiriammā), there is nothing in this invocation belonging to the Vedda form of belief, and we do not doubt that the whole formula has been taken over from foreign sources. Mr Parker writes that he has "no knowledge of Ākāsakālā, the Sky Goddess," but that "Mahi-kāntāwa is well known as the personification of the earth, literally 'Earth' (*mahi*), 'woman' (*kāntāwa*)."

The appearance of divine children by other means than birth *per vias naturales* is a common Hindu belief of which Mr Parker cites the following instances: "Ayiyanār, the son of Mōhinī,

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an incarnation of Vishnu, is said in Ceylon and India to have appeared from Vishnu's hand......there is the well known story of the production of the four castes from the body of Brahma[1]."

## Henebedda.

The heading of this invocation *Paṭṭimolaṭa Panikki Yakā makuṭa kiyana kavi* signifies "Song sung for the cattle herds to Panikki Yaka the Chief." The *yaka* invoked is the spirit of the sixteenth century chief Panikki Vedda, whose history is given in Chapter I. To some extent this invocation bridges the gap between the nameless *Nae Yaku* and the Vedda heroes, though it is obvious that the worship of Panikkia Yaka is allied to the *Banḍara* cult to which we have alluded elsewhere. Our informants, however, did not regard Panikkia Yaka as a Banḍāra.

XIV. *Asa guru kapayi, Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*
*Polō guru kapayi, Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*
*Gasamuṭ salanmayi, Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*
*Igalaunṭ pa(n)daralmayi, Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*

*Kasā iraṭa piṭen ira bindi ādinnawa ādinnawa,*
*Muna unnu pārakkada, Nilamī Nilā?*

*Kuḍā naṇḍi ralā narawatuṇ, bālakkada, bālannada?*
*Kudā naṇḍi raclat kadimayi, Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*
*Mahā naṇḍi raclā narawatuṇ bālakkada Bola tūpā yāluwanā?*
*Madā naṇḍi raclāt kodī Bola tūpā yāluwanā.*

*Dunna gaṭat sonda widdaman, Panikkiyā.*
*Pella gaṭat sonda narawatuṇ, Panikkiyā.*
*Manda gaṭat sonda bandaman, Panikkiyā.*
*Ada naṭanaṭa eyi, Gambara Panikkiya.*

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[1] This is given in the Purana as follows (Wilson's translation, p. 44): "Formerly, oh best of Brahmans, when the truth-meditating Brahma was desirous of creating the world, there sprang from his mouth beings specially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast,...others from his thighs,...and others from his feet...."

The Vishnu Purana records (p. 50) that when Brahma found that his mind-born progeny were unsuitable for peopling the world, "he was filled with wrath capable of consuming the three worlds, the flame of which invested, like a garland, heaven, earth, and hell. Then from his forehead, darkened with angry frowns, sprang Rudra, radiant as the noon-tide sun, fierce, of vast bulk, and of a figure which was half male, half female."

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The sky is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
The earth is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
Blows even the wind also, O thou Friend!
Even the small birds are flying also, O thou Friend!

From behind the yellow sun, draw, draw the sun's rays.
What is the (reason of the) delay, Chief Nilā?

Shall I look, shall I look if a small heifer has stopped in the herd?
(that is, is in the herd).
Even a small heifer is not in the herd, O thou Friend!
Shall I look if a large heifer has stopped in the herd, O thou Friend?
A large heifer is also not in the herd, O thou Friend!

Should he take the bow, he is able to shoot well, the Panikkiya.
Should he take the cudgel, he is good at stopping (the buffaloes), the Panikkiya.
Should he take the noose, he is able to tie well, the Panikkiya.
Today he will come here, the speckled Panikkiya.

## INVOCATIONS TO KANDE YAKA AND BILINDI YAKA.

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With a single exception (No. XXIII) all these invocations are recited in order to procure game. No. XV was sung whilst dancing round an arrow struck in the ground as is described in Chapter IX.

The remainder (with the exception of No. XXIII already noted) are sung at the *kirikoraha* ceremony. Although the invocations used at the *kirikoraha* ceremony present almost every stage of development, and some invocations such as Nos. XVIII and XXII are obviously composed of fragments belonging to different strata of belief, in every case the *yaku* called upon are the spirits of Kande Wanniya and his brother Bilindi.

No. XXIII is especially interesting, as it shows that such powerful foreign spirits as Riri Yaka and Indigollae Yaka when adopted into the Vedda system assumed Vedda characteristics, and so became subject to Kande Yaka.

### Bandaraduwa.

XV. *Kandē siṭa Kandahaṭē nā kola andan*
*Bē kola andan·tiala tanā*
*Sonda sonda gal gawarungē piyen piyana*
*Ōṅ yannē maya kandē mul pola Wanniyā.*

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*Having made arrow-heads of the shape of Nā leaves,*
*Of the shape of Bō leaves, from hill to hill,*
*From foot-(print) to foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer,*
*There (he) goes, my Wanniyā of the Chief Place of the hill.*

Mr Parker explains that the "chief place of the hill" is its crest or summit, but in every case in which the expression *Kandē usul pola Wanniyā* occurred in an invocation our informants explained that the expression was one of the names of Kande Yaka, and they clearly regarded these words as constituting a proper name. *Wanniya* is a common constituent of Vedda names, and has something of the significance of chief or leader. Mr Parker points out that it means "he of the Wanni" or "he of the forest track," and that it is a title given to Vedda chiefs in former times. Mr Parker considers this invocation important, [411] "since it shows that the arrow heads were of two shapes, a narrow one with nearly parallel sides (resembling the leaf of the *nā* tree or ironwood) like some Sinhalese arrows, and a broader one (resembling the *bō* leaf"). At the present day the heads of Vedda arrows are long and relatively narrow, that is, roughly of the shape of a leaf of the *nā* tree. We have not seen any arrow heads whose shape recalled the leaf of the *bō* tree.

## INVOCATION TO KAṄDE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

### Sītala Wanniyē.

XVI. *Kandaha siţa kandahaţa gamana gamana kande nirindu wassi wahinnanē. Bäräṇdi damänäţa siţa kandē damanaţa sanda sanda gal-gava-rupat piyen piya kurippu dagamina kandē usul pola Wanniyā.*

King of the Hills, who continues to go from hill to hill, cease rain[1]. (He is) the Wanniyā of the Chief place of the hill, who causes to fall the heads of excellent sambar deer, from foot (print) to foot (print), from Bäräṇdi Damanē (the grass plain of sails) to Kandē Damanē (the grass plain of the hill)[2].

"*Nirindu* from *nara* and *indra*, a poetical expression meaning 'chief of men.' It is never used colloquially by Sinhalese.

"*Kurippu* = *kurippu* (Tamil) 'mark,' 'traces.'"

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[1] "Lit. rain rain."

[2] "These names signify respectively 'the grass plain of the sail' and 'the grass plain of the hill.' Dr Seligmann was told that these hills teemed with game though on inquiry it appeared that no man had visited them or knew their situation."

## INVOCATION TO KANDE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

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### Uniche.

XVII. *Mē kanda pīta yanna yanna mē kandē mul pola Wanniyayi. Mē gura pola äli pola wassē wahinna wahinna konda konda mägallawā pīyen adi kīvā yanna kandē mul pola Wanniyā.*

It is the Wanniyā of the chief place (crest) of this hill who continues to go unto this hill. The Wanniyā of the chief place of the hill, who continues to cause (lit. to rain) this rain of great drops, drops from a dense (cloud), makes out foot-print by foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer.

## INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

### Sitala Wanniya.

XVIII. *An äti diṭa nan näti gēna atin alla dena sīti Bilindi Rajā. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānine. Masā mūyā mada mandāli e ran koḍiyak suvandinē.*

Like (one) catching with (his) hand and giving the nameless sambar deer in the country where there are horns, (is) King Bilindi. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānine. There is a golden flag in the midst of the sea full of fish, O Lord!

We consider that this invocation is certainly corrupt; further there can be no doubt that it should refer to an unnamed country and a horned sambar, as in invocation No. XXII, where, as pointed out by Mr Parker, the "unnamed country" is the applicant's own country which it was unnecessary for him to name.

## DEDICATION OF FLESH AND RICE TO KANDĒ YAKA AND BILINDI YAKA[1].

### Henebedda.

XIX. *Āyibohōvā, āyibohōvā. Kandē harpa hal kappuwahapa näyahowē Kandē mulpola alut äyiyannānehēpa Kandē Wanniyāṭa; Kan Mitran Wanniyāṭa, Mitraṅ alut äyiyannānehēpa; Dalumuru Wanniyāṭa, Dalumura*

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[1] This was recited at Henebedda over the food the dedication of which we have described on p. 220. Plate XXVIII, fig. 2 is a reproduction of a photograph taken while the shaman dedicated the food.

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*alut deyiyannānsahiṭa; Ru aḍukku Wanniyāṭa, Ru aḍukku alut deyiyannānsahiṭa; Bilindi nānsaṭa; Daḍayan Wanniyāṭa, Daḍayan alut deyiyannānsahiṭa; Bilindi Wanniyāṭa, Bilindi alut deyiyannānsahiṭa. Adat man sul eḍḍu karadena ru aḍukkuwaṭa tunnamnaatti therun waḍiheren kokkheren piyāheren diwas karanā keragena sul dinḍa wanaddāṭa aeli gawaraṅ gal gawaraṅ atin alla di tunnaṭa waḍinnaṅ aeru karanā dinḍa yakaṭaḍi. Āyibōwā, āyibōwā.*

Long life, long life to Kandā Wanniyā, to the new god of the chief place of the hill who has become the chief of the Group of the Sixty-Seven of the Hill; to Kan Miran Wanniyā, to the new god Miran; to Dalumura Wanniyā, to the new god Dalumura; to Ru aḍukku Wanniyā, to the new god Ru aḍukku; to Daḍayan Wanniyā, to the new god Daḍayan; to Bilindi Wanniyā, to the new god Bilindi.

Today, also, granting your divine favour to the beautiful cooked food of this offering which I give, as quickly as an arrow, as quickly as a gunshot, as quickly as an egret, as quickly as flying, having caught with the hand and given to this hunting Vaedda axis deer and sambar, may it seem good (to you) to arrange them at the point of the arrow, at the point of the gun-shot, and give (them there). Long life, long life!

"The 'Group of the Sixty-seven,' the *Hasṭa-hat Kaṭṭuwa*, is well-known in the North-western Province. These are nearly all Baṇḍāra or deified chiefs. Though still called 'the Sixty-seven,' their number is now well over a hundred.

"Kan Miran Wanniyā and his three associates are the subordinates or the attendants on Kandē Yaka. I cannot explain the duties of Kan Miran Wanniyā; Dalumura Wanniyā is the one who presents Kande Yaka with betel; Ru Aḍukku Wanniyā presents him with cooked food, and Dadayan Wanniyā kills game for him.

"*Waḍi* is the word always used for a gun-shot by Sinhalese and Tamils; also for the explosion of the charge when blasting."

### Godatalawa.

XX. *Hat Bilindivaddan anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
*Kandē Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
*Dalumura Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
*Puluṭṭā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
*Riddī Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*

Seven Bilindi godlings, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Kandē Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Dalumura Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Puluṭṭā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Riddī Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.

This formula was given us by an old man Handuna of Godatalawa, both as a dedication of food to Kande Yaka, and an invocation asking for game. We cannot explain the expression *Hāt Bilindīvatāwā*; to Handuna it was a synonym for Bilindi, and he assured us that the first line was addressed to Bilindi Yaka. Mr Parker points out that Puluṭṭā may mean "fried meat Wanniyā" and Riddē Wanniyā, "the Wanniyā who caused pain." If this be so Puluṭṭā must be regarded as the Wanniya who fried meat for Kande Yaka[1]. We can offer no suggestion as to the significance of the expression "the Wanniyā who caused pain."

## INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

### Henebedda.

Sung while the shaman dances with a coconut and *aude* as shown in Plate XXIX, figs. 1 and 2.

XXI. *Tandana, tānina, tāna tandana; tandana tānina tānina.*
*Appāgē wayasai hoot wud(ri)dē næti, sai awurudāgē pasu wīdā.*
*Sai awuruddāṭa adāl wenā yos e ran Bandāra, Sāmīnī.*
*Tandana tānina tāna tandana; tandana tānina tānina.*

*Appuhāmiṭa wīyaṭa hanṭiya piyan dīnayē, Sāmīnī.*
*Appuhāmiṭa wīyaṭa paṭṭam piyan dīnayē, Sāmīnī.*
*Elamal hira mā aendaṭa haṭṭiya atua gangā randi wīhādenī.*
*Tandana tānina tāna tandana; tandana tānina tānina.*

*Kawē biyanmat beyi baerī wuṇa, udakaraṇ tani watādē? Ayiyē!*
*Nim næti badūdē an aeti gāna ātna allā dona Sonpāni.*
*Kande uḍin duwana sulan sillāṭa narawā handalēcē tome minā,*
*Kutt uḍan nubīna mulayā maerawē muna tanihamaṇḍa, Nayidē*
*Kpat uḍan nuhe mulayat aragena atilan hārayan, Nayidē*
*An aeti gawarā allā dona hobi Maenik-talāwe Bilindi dewiyō.*

*Tandana etc.*

The age of the Chief's Son was not many years; seven years had gone by.
A time equal to seven years having gone (he became) the Forest Chief,
O Lord.
*Tandana etc.*

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[1] There is another possibility; on the analogy of the [illegible] ceremony described at the end of this chapter it may be suggested that Puluṭṭā was held to be the first Vedda to offer fried meat at this ceremony. We do not consider this probable however.

782 There were a thousand flowers on the cloth woven for the Chief's Son,
O Lord!
631 There were a thousand flowers on the seat plaited for the Chief's Son,
O Lord!
The cloth he wore, worked with *elamal* flowers and the parrot (?), like the
waves of the river is spread out.
*Tandana* etc.
Through fear I cannot sing songs (properly). Will there be any anger (on
account of it)? Alas!
The (rain) wind which he sent down from above the hill to the verdure is
wetting with tears the face
(Of) the Lord who in the nameless jungle catches with his hands and gives
the sambar deer possessing horns.
For what (fear of) solitude did (you) kill your own younger brother born of
the same mother, O Nayidē?
Taking your younger brother born of the same mother play games (with
him), O Nayidē.
(Addressing Bilindi) You are able to catch and give sambar deer possessing
horns, O God Bilindi of Maenik-talāwa.

The words *ran Baṇḍāra* which are here translated Forest Chief might also mean Golden Chief. As already stated it appears to us that in the majority of these invocations the adjective "golden" is used to signify "excellent" or "admirable," but concerning this Mr Parker writes:

"*Ran* as an adjective almost always means 'golden,' but in such a case ought to be spelt with ṇ. I inserted preferentially 'Forest' in this case, as there is no reason given why he should suddenly become golden. I should generally understand 'golden' to mean 'of a golden nature or colour'; I do not think it would ever be applied to a person or deity who is dark coloured, however excellent he might be. I have heard a path termed 'like gold' by way of emphasising its excellence, but it is very unusual to employ it with this meaning."

In spite of the weight that must be attached to Mr Parker's opinion we do not agree with him in this matter, and in support of our opinion adduce the expression "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI. We may also mention that in the invocation to Kosgama Baṇḍāra, the hero's corpse is described as "golden[1]."

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[1] Cf. *Man*, 1909, where is given the translation of the invocation used in calling upon Kosgama for assistance.

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Mr Parker points out that in line 7 *mā* may stand for *mahā* or *masā*, sewn. Line 12 may be understood in two ways according to whether we read "For what (fear of) solitude," etc., or "For what need of solitude," etc. According to one account Kande Yaka killed his younger brother Bilindi because he felt lonely as a *yaka* and yearned for his company. This was the legend we heard at Henebedda, but another version makes Kande Wanniya kill his infant brother in a fit of temper because Bilindi being hungry annoyed him by constant whining. The thirteenth line, in which Kande Yaka is addressed as Nayidē, suggests that the Henebedda version of the legend is here referred to in the preceding line. We were told that Nayidē was here used as a name for Kande Yaka but could not discover the reason for this. Mr Parker points out that in Sinhalese *nayidē* simply means artificer.

## INVOCATION TO BILINDI YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

### Uniche.

XXII. *Kapā manik gal obiā, bipalu lela-didī tamā, ela kiralā acndapa haccīya sīma raelipaja wiki-dunā. Appuge*[1] *wayasat bohō kalak aeti tun awuruddayi pasu wunī. Nan naeti desē, an aeti gōnā allā denawada Bilindī Rajā.*

Having cut the Gem-rock thereby himself removing the command (regarding it), like the folds of the waves are spread out is the bleached cloth he wore. It will be a long time since three years of the Chief's son's age passed. In the unnamed country will you catch and give a sambar deer with horns, King Bilindi?

This invocation obviously consists of two parts, embodying ideas belonging to very different strata of thought. The last sentence requires no more than a reference to invocation No. XVIII, to explain "the unnamed country." The sentence before this refers to the belief that Bilindi was three years old when Kande Yaka killed him. Probably these two sentences belong to the same stratum of belief, and certainly the Veddas understood what they meant. It was otherwise with regard to the first part of this invocation, our informants could not tell

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[1] Appu for Appuhāmi, the former title of the son of a chief.

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us what this meant or even translate it, though our interpreter stated that he thought it had something to do with the dress of the *yaka*. Clearly this part of the invocation is foreign, and Mr Parker suggests that since Bilindi means "the child" there is "a possibility that he is Ayiyanār, the guardian Forest Deity of Ceylon, who is represented at Tanjore as a youth. Bilindi is said by Nevill to be the son of the (Indigollaewa) Kiri Amma, who is identified by the Sinhalese as Mohini, a female personification of Vishnu; and Ayiyanār is the son of Mohini." This is supported by the reference to the Gem-rock, for as Mr Parker writes "the Kiri Amma split the sapphire gem at the sapphire mountain." Thus in the later part of the invocation, Ayiyanār may have been assimilated to Bilindi Yaka.

## INVOCATION WITH BOW TO DETERMINE WHAT YAKA HAS CAUSED ILLNESS.

### Sitala Wanniya.

XXIII. *Ayibōwā, āyibōwā. Tummankaḍa suwāmin wahansa gal pēnata, dunu pēnaṭa, suba pēnaṭa aku harala denḍa ōnae. Mayē pēnaṭa enḍa ōnae. Kandē Wanniyā boru pēna al-haera leḍa hala yakā maṭa ada aku harawanḍa ōnae. Riri Yakā Indilegolle Yakā, Rāhu Yakun, Paṭṭa Yakun, mē suba pēnaṭa aku harala denḍa ōnaē.*

Long life! Long life! Lord of Tamankaduwa, through (my) stones' soothsaying, through bows' soothsaying, through auspicious soothsaying, (you) must catch and give (him). Through my soothsaying, (he) must come. Kande Wanniya, having laid aside false soothsaying, (you) must cause me to seize today the Yaka who caused the sickness. (Whether) Riri Yaka, Indilegolle Yaka[1], Rahu Yaku, or Patta Yaku, through this auspicious soothsaying (you) must seize and give (him).

Riri Yakā or Siri Yakā is the blood demon of the Sinhalese. The Rahu Yaku appear to correspond to the Sinhalese demon Rahu Yaka[2]. We consider this invocation important as it definitely expresses what we found to be the general opinion among the

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[1] Clearly a slip for Indigollae Yaka.

[2] He was originally an Asura who surreptitiously drank some of the *amrita* produced by the Gods and Demons. Mohini cut off his head, but it had become immortal and was transformed into the planetary sign (personified) which causes eclipses by trying to swallow the sun and moon because they drew the attention of Mohini to him. For the substance of this note we are indebted to Mr Parker.

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Plate LV

Nila holding bow while reciting invocation No. XXIII. When the name of the *yaka* causing the illness is spoken the bow swings to and fro

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

[facing p. 390]

wilder Veddas. Kande Yaka is called upon to help, he is the spirit of a dead Vedda, one of themselves, and would never be suspected of sending sickness. It is only the stranger who brings evil things. But Kande Yaka is more powerful than the foreign *yaku* and by his help it is discovered which of them has caused sickness. In the field we found reason to believe that Indigollae Yaka and Riri Yaka and the Rahu Yaku were foreign in origin, we did not however suspect Patta Yaka, but Mr Parker says, "The Patta Yaku are diseases personified, and are male and female. The Sinhalese enumerate twelve or eighteen called Garā (m.) or Girī (f.); of these two are Paṭṭa Garā and Paṭṭa Girī. They especially afflict women and children."

## INVOCATIONS USED WHILE COLLECTING HONEY.

### Godatalawa.

XXIV. *Alut dēvi hāmuduruwō, machikeli gamak pennanṭa ōnaī ada. Koṭala hangali yanñan.*

Lady New Goddess, (you) must show (me) a bee-hive today. Having chopped (it out) I will hide (it) and go.

Mr Parker suggests that the honey gatherer "hints to the Goddess that he and she will divide the honey between them, unknown to the other Vaeddas and that thus she will obtain a larger share than usual." This would be quite contrary to Vedda ethics, and it seems to us more probable that the honey is hidden in order to prevent the bees carrying it away. The gatherer might well be fatigued after his exertions and would certainly not attempt to rest in the immediate neighbourhood of the bees he had robbed, nor would he leave the honey exposed where it would attract the bees.

### Unuwatura Bubula.

XXIV A. *Raja Omungalliyē*
*Mē guruwen Ammā.*
*Guru balē rakiṇā*
*Mē waruwal kapālā bassalā*
*Dum paliyen pausalā*
*Kaḍuwen kapālā*

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*Paliyaṭa damâla*
*Mīras mīriya paeni gepaedin*
*Gepen gepen badagini*
*Aerenna hamna.*

O Omnagalla Sovereign!
Mother—by this respect (paid to you)—
Who protects (us) by (your) great authority!
Having cut and lowered the (ladder of) great cane,
Having driven off (the bees) by the shield of smoke,
Having cut (the comb) with the sword,
Having put (it) down into the vessel,
Having fetched the sweetest honey[1]. Bring (it),
Bring (it) (for us) to eat, to lay aside (our) hunger.

Nevill has recorded a very similar invocation which he obtained from a Vedda of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood)[2]. He also records the following invocation which was given him by a Vedda of Omuni.

*Machi-keli Waniyâ*
*Gal naewili Waniyâ*
*Machi kelanne machi urâl*
*Hinâ-maten keli kôpayen*
*Oppu ganawâ tobâ deyiyen.*

Bee Wanniya,
Wanniya of rock worship!
(Of) the honey-comb of the bees,
Laughing at the anger of the bees,
Be pleased to take the offering,
O thou from the Gods!

The above translation has been prepared by Mr Parker and is rather more literal than either of Nevill's translations, for he gives two. That printed below shows "the sense that the construction and words of this invocation convey" to a Vedda.

"Oh Lord of the Bees!
Oh Lord of the Rock!
Honeycombs of honey bee,
With laughter and with merriness,
I offer them to Thee."

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[1] Or "sweet honey like toddy."
[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 107.

Nevill records that "after each line" his informant "threw a little honey, the first cut from the cliff, to the Spirit of the Rock, and then proceeded to take the rest of the combs. He told me it was an ancient custom his ancestors followed, called 'paeni adina yadinda,' or to 'charm the drawing of honey.'"

## Henebedda.

XXV. *Bori, Bori, Wanniyē.*
*Nilwan pāliya nedan kiyā, ē kīmaṭa kāṭṭi ipal wēlen gācā widiinṅayi kiyā daelen daelaṭa. Aendun waeṭṭi enni māyē kumala Wanniyē.*
*Ehē māhat kōdeyi kiyā, daelen daelaṭa katu ipal gāsā widinnī widinnī.*
*Diya aendūn waeṭigena yanḍōmō yanni nan yanni.*
*Mal aendun waeṭigena yanni nan yanni.*
*Guru aendun waeṭigena yanḍōmō yanni nam yanni.*
*Ela aendun waeṭigena yanḍōmō yanni nam yanni.*
*Aenga wāṭṭ baendigena yanḍōmō yanni nam yanni.*

The translation of the heading of this invocation is "Stanza said by Veddas when cutting *bambara* on a hill or tree."

(Their sound is) *bori, bori,* O Wanniya[1]!

When (I) said[2], "(I) will not give (you) the dark-coloured vessel[3]" (containing the honey), at that remark company by company (of bees) said, "From (this) time, having beaten (you as if with) thorny rods, (we) will pierce" (you with our stings). (My) clothes are falling off (on account of the stinging), O my dear Wanniya!

When (I) said "There is nothing in it" (the vessel), company by company (of bees) having beaten (me as if with) thorny rods are piercing, are piercing (me with their stings).

(My) watered clothes (i.e. cloth with waved pattern) falling off, (I) am indeed setting off to go, (I) am going.

(My) flowered clothes falling off, I am indeed going, I am going.

(My) dark clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

(My) white clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

Tying (the clothes) round (my) body I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

" *Maligi* is presumably *mālinī*, a form of stanza.

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[1] *Bori, bori* is onomatopoeic of the humming of bees.

[2] Lit. "having said."

[3] Mr Parker considers that *nilwan paliya* should be translated "blue-coloured" but that it may also mean "black" or "dark-coloured." As the result of our examination of the colour sense and colour names of the Veddas detailed in Chapter XIV we are convinced that in the present instance "dark-coloured" is the correct reading.

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*Pātiya*, a vessel. The word occurs with this meaning in another invocation.

*Kumala*, that is *komala*, tender.

*Yandāmo yanai* for *yandāma yanne*, a common expression in Sinhalese.

*Andun* (properly *andum*), 'clothes,' is in the plural, and means much more than a loin cloth. A European's dress—the various articles collectively—is called *andum*.

*Guru* often applied to a purple sky may also mean 'excellent'; perhaps it might here mean dark."

This is one of the invocations of which we obtained no satisfactory translation in the field. Mr Parker holds that "the whole invocation is devoted to explaining to the Wanniya the suppliant's urgent need of his assistance, without which he will be compelled to abandon the work."

We consider it far more probable that the honey collector is essentially talking at the bees while apparently talking to the Wanniya and his companions at the top of the crag[1]. While helping himself to the honey he explains—for the benefit of the bees—that having heard their determination to sting him, he was hurrying away in such haste that his clothes are falling from him, notwithstanding that he has told the bees that there is nothing, i.e. no honey, in his collecting pot.

### INVOCATION BEFORE TAKING BAMBARA HONEY, SUNG BY A MAN AS HE IS LOWERED OVER THE CLIFF.

### Bandaraduwa.

XXVI. *Tobā deyyani, tobā deyyani, alut mala upān marawlai sināwe hītun, hamadiyan, machikellawai machi wral oppu aerugana, issara adi machicci alut mala upan marawlai sināwa, passi adi machicci mala upan marawlai sināwa, machikellan ammē appā wagē hella, mī ran mini hendaṭa dīwa diwas jāla, tobā deyyani, tobā deyyani, tobā deyyani.*

*Ara maya, ara maya, āluta Wanni Hurun, daelen daelaṭa hāta īpal gasā yanai, aluta Wanni Huruniyē.*

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[1] There is nothing to show who is the Wanniya addressed. If—as appears certain—the honey gatherer speaks to another Vedda on the cliff above him, this formula scarcely comes under the heading of this chapter (Invocations), but it is undoubtedly convenient to keep this with the other invocations sung while collecting honey.

*Ara maye, ära maye, tellen bäde nangi pädama kerundat adun padun kädeyi kiyalä, taupa hirapa pipen diuwö yanäi, äluta Wanni Hurundyé.* 782 539

You Gods, You Gods! By the good will and superiority (?) of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits), taking (these) offerings of honey-comb of the bees, you who may be the first destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits; and) you who may be the subsequently destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits),—having caused the bees to sport (round me) like a mother or father, protect this golden jewelled cord (i.e. the ladder of creepers) by (your) divine eyes, you Gods, you Gods.

That (honey) is mine, that is mine, New Wanni Lords. Company by company, (as if with) thorny rods, (you) keep beating (me), O New Wanni Lords (i.e. the bees).

That (honey) is mine, that is mine. (Regarding your) hard (or excessive) blows on the very feet that ascended (the ladder of creepers), no one having said there are deficiencies, (yet) you are going running from my back to my head and neck, O New Wanni Lords (i.e. to give still more blows or stings).

"This invocation contains several expressions not met with previously, and I can only give doubtful translations of part of it.

"*Naewini* probably *naewina*, 'fresh' or 'new.' I think it has nothing to do with *näe wenawä*, to become a relative, the first word of which is always pronounced with a long vowel by both Vaeddas and Sinhalese.

"*Hamädiye*, from *sama* 'all' and *ädiye* 'first,' or *ädika* 'great.'

"*Ötpu* for *oppu*, proofs, evidence; but used by Vaeddas and Wanniyas for offering.

"*Maekiema*, from v. *mäkanawä*, 'to obliterate,' 'to destroy.'

"*Kella*, from v. *kelinawä*, 'to sport.'

"*Aeki* for *haeki*, possible.

"*Ara maye* is unlikely to be *aeruma*, verbal noun of *arinawä*, 'to leave,' or 'to let go.'

'*Tellum*, pl. of *taelluma*, v. noun of *talanawä*, 'to beat.'

"*Bädä* may be *bäḍa*, 'hard,' 'solid' or *bäḍha*, 'promise' or 'much,' 'excessive.'

"*Aḍun paḍun*, pl. of *aḍupāḍuma*, 'deficiency.'

"*Kädeyi* means 'it is not,' or 'there is not,' from *kaḍuna*, 'not.' In the last paragraph of this invocation the negative is expressed thus: 'some having said there are not deficiencies.'"

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This is one of the invocations of which we could only obtain an explanation in part, but luckily our informants were perfectly clear as to the meaning they attached to the first part of the invocation, and we feel confident that the following lines give the significance attached by them to this part of this invocation.

You spirits, you spirits of the recently dead and of the old dead, you *naē* (relative) spirits, take this offering of honey comb and protect me as a father and mother. Protect this rope.

Concerning the word *upan* which in this invocation Mr Parker translates "reborn," this authority writes, "*Upan* which I have translated reborn, literally means 'born'; but the other word more correctly expresses the meaning....The view I should take of the matter is that the person died and was buried. Then when the Vaeddas find him or his spirit in existence again they term it a re-birth in the world of spirits. This kind of expression is common in Buddhism; compare *kelawara devlowa upannēya*, 'he was (re)born in the final god-world' (Dhātuvansa)."

Although the Veddas of Bandaraduwa have come very much under foreign influence we feel convinced that they have no such carefully formulated ideas of re-birth as Mr Parker suggests, and we believe that the words of the invocation and the significance that the Veddas attach to it, can be harmonized without doing violence to Vedda modes of religious thought, by considering the translation as being from the comparatively unimportant *preta* to the full powered *yaka*, though as pointed out by Mr Parker, this would not be re-birth in the usual Sinhalese (Buddhist) sense.

With regard to the expression *nāē* (relative) spirits in the Vedda version, Mr Parker writes: "If *naewini* were a mistake for *nāē wena*, the translation of the first part after 'Gods' would be, 'By the goodwill and superiority of the newly dead and *reborn host who are becoming* (*our*) *relatives*.'" The words in italics indicate only the meaning of the words *alut mala upan naewini sēnāwa*.

*Nāē wena sēnāwa* is *nāē*, "kinsfolk," *wena*, "becoming," and *sēnāwa*, "host," "multitude."

## INVOCATIONS TO BAMBURA YAKA.

The invocations to Bambura Yaka are the most puzzling of all those we collected. None of our informants understood them and the translations given were fragmentary, or else we were told that although the words of the sentences could be translated so as to make some sort of sense, the significance of the invocation was unknown, or if appreciated did not necessarily agree with the meaning of the literal translation. Further, although it is certain that Bambura Yaka especially gives success in searching for yams and hunting pig, Mr Parker's translations make it quite certain that these invocations really apply to honey collecting. The reference to the "golden creeper," i.e. the ladder made of jungle creepers and used in taking honey, lowered across the face of the Inginiya rock makes this certain. Nevertheless both at Sitala Wanniya and Uniche, invocations with these expressions in them were recited as invocations to Bambura Yaka to send pig, and none of our informants regarded Bambura Yaka as having anything to do with honey. It may be suggested tentatively that the resemblance in sound of Bambura the home of the *yaka* and *bambara*, the word for the rock bee, may have brought about this confusion.

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### Sitala Wanniya.

XXVII. *Mī magē Bamburāṇi, Bamburāṇi. Magē Bamburō bat kaddī nāḍew nāḍew gala gala suniyaniyē.*

*Mī masā muratata goḍu maḍānā maḍuhat hāpu katata sindu denḍā kapa no kiyandā. Mī kuḍā Inginiyā galata hāpu ran waela galat gala gala mē wara waeṭi galā.*

This is my Bamburā, Bamburā. While my Bamburā is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gala, gala"—save, save (him)—by magic.

At this very instant destroying the mounds (on the face of the rock) be pleased to give to the mouth that has eaten honey (the power to sing) songs (correctly and) not to speak nonsense. Save, save (both) the golden creeper that has been lowered down this little Inginiya rock and the rock, (or otherwise) this time the rock will fall.

"Bamburō (pl.) and Bamburani are honorific forms of Bamburā. Compare *Maharajani*, used in addressing a king.

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"*Nādaw* for *nāda karapan*, or perhaps *nāda weyan*, 'may there be a sound.'

"*Gala gala*. Compare *galawanawā*, 'to save,' 'deliver.'

"*Masā*, probably *mṛiśa*, from root *mṛiś*, Skt. 'to touch.'

"*Murata* for *muhūrta*, a moment.

"*Goḍu*, pl. of *goḍa*, a mound.

"*Madānī* for *madaṇa*, from root *mṛid*, Skt. to crush, destroy.

"*Bāpu* from v. *bānawā*, to lower.

"*Bana kiyanda*, 'to repeat the Buddhist Scriptures,' is used colloquially with the meaning here given.

"*Golō* for *galo*, 'rock,' as in another invocation addressed to this *yaka*."

Mr Parker writes: "This is a prayer for the protection of the ladder of creepers down which the honey gatherer descends, and also to prevent the fall of loose pieces of projecting rock on his head. First the suppliant asks for magical words to arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The rest of the invocation is evidently addressed to the *yaka* himself."

### Uniche.

XXVIII. *Mī Inginiya galaṭa bāpu raṇ waela waelat wael mī wara waeṭiyī. Mī apa Bamburō bat kaṇa raṇ mandī. Mārtu mal andan saedi galā. Mī apa Bamburō bat kaddī nādaw, nādaw gal gala sunniyanī.*

The golden creeper and the jungle creepers lowered down this Inginiya rock will fall this time (unless protected by the Yaka). This (rock) is the golden plate off which our Bambura eats rice. It is a rock made in the form of the Marut flower. While this our Bambura is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gal, gala"—save save (him)—by magic.

"*Waelat* is probably *wala* plus *t*, forest or jungle.

"*Mārtu* for *marut*, a plant.

"*Andan* for *andama*, manner, state.

"*Galō* for *gala*, rock.

"Apparently it is the rock which is expected to emit a noise that will arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The suppliant praises it in order to propitiate it."

This invocation was not understood by our informants, nor could we ascertain that it was sung to any *yaka* other than one who was called Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the *yaka* who stopped at the summit of the hill[1]." Unfortunately we omitted to ask whether this was a synonym for Kande Yaka who, in other invocations, is addressed as Kande Mulpola Wanniya, but the tone of the whole invocation with its reference to the "sword called Golden" is as unlike any other invocation to Kande as it well can be. This invocation is thoroughly foreign in form and sentiment.

### Sitala Wanniya.

Invocation addressed to Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the yaka who stopped at the Chief Place," i.e. the summit of the hill, at the Bambura ceremony.

XXIX. *Raṇ nan kaḍuwē nawa danitot*
*Apalā Wannige nawa no kiyā.*
*Apalā Wannige nawa danitot*
*Raṇ nan kaḍuwē nawa no kiyā.*

*Angara naeṭun naṭaṇa Wanniṭa*
*Sonda sonda bera pada gasāpaw.*
*Sellan naeṭun naṭaṇa Wanniṭa*
*Sonda sonda bera pada gasāpaw.*

If you know the eulogy of the sword called Golden
Do not say the praise of our Wanniya.
If you know the eulogy of our Wanniya
Do not say the praise of the sword called Golden.

To the Wanniya who dances gesture-dances
Beat excellent tunes (lit. verses) on the tom-tom.
To the Wanniya who dances sportive-dances
Beat excellent tunes on the tom-tom.

Our informants, though providing a translation of the words of this invocation which approximates to the translation given by Mr Parker, could not tell us the significance thereof. Indeed they were only clear on one matter, that in spite of what the invocation said they had no drums and never had had drums. Handuna stated that the translation of the second verse should be:—

Sing loudly to him who dances the *angeru* dance.
Sing loudly to him who dances playful dances.

None could say what the *angeru* dance might be.

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[1] Or perhaps the *yaka* to whom the Mulpola Hitiye belonged. Hitiye whatever else it may signify is also the ancient name for a particular form of pointed weapon.

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Mr Parker suggests that the meaning of the first verse "may be that the Wanniya is too important a personage for anything else to be praised in the same breath (even his golden sword), and that 'at the same time' is to be understood at the end of the second and fourth lines of the translation."

Mr Parker also suggests that Mulpola Hitiye Yaka may be a synonym of "Gale Yaka (Yaka of the Rock) who danced on hills, and whose worshippers dance on many hills or crags of the Vaedi-rata as well as the North-western Province. *Hitiye* is a participial adjective derived from *hitinawa* to stay or stop; the literal translation of *mulpola hitiye Yaka* is 'Chief-place-stopped-Yaka!'"

## INVOCATION AT PREGNANCY CEREMONY.

### Sitala Wanniya.

*Us Mukkāliya*[1] Song, at pregnancy dance.

XXX. *Us mukkāliya waṭe, maeda mukkāliya waṭē, bāla kaṇuwa waṭē paena daewaṭī ennau, dēvatāwayi.*

Having jumped round the high tripod, round the middle tripod, round the small post, come, wrapped up. (He) is a Dēvatāwa (godling).

This invocation was recited by the dancers at the pregnancy ceremony described on pp. 247 to 251. We do not understand to whom the last sentence "(He) is a Devatawa (godling)" applies. On receiving Mr Parker's translation we suggested that this might refer to the unborn child, but Mr Parker pointed out that he would not expect a child to be called a *devatawa*, and that "it is of the worst augury to speak in terms of praise of any child." Mr Parker therefore understands "the word *devatawa* to refer in a complimentary manner to the spirit which is asked to come." This idea agrees with the information we obtained in the field, where a somewhat doubtful translation of this invocation was given as follows: those who jump between the *us mukkāliya*, the *meda mukkāliya*, and the *balakanuwa* are *devatawa* (pl.). It was explained that the invocation referred to the performers, and that the expression "are *devatawa*" was the equivalent to saying "are possessed of *yaku*," since to Veddas of Sitala Wanniya *devatawa* was a synonym for *yaka*.

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[1] *Mukkāliya* is formed from two Tamil words, *mūndu* "three," and *kāl* "legs."

## DOLA YAKA CEREMONY.

### Sitala Wanniya.

### Invocation to Dola Yaka.

XXXI. ***Kaḍat kaḍa Doliyē. Mal bandinā taeṇa anḍagōlā saddamayi. Bindōli damanna damaṇna bindōliyē, mal bandinā pamawayi.***

Our informants could not translate this invocation or even state its meaning. Mr Parker supplies the following "doubtful translation":

> Bit by bit, O Doliyā. At the place where the flowers (or necklaces) are tied there is a noise of calling (for us). The fixing of the demon offerings (*dola*) on the ground, the fixing of the demon offerings on the ground causes delay in tying the flowers (or necklaces).

"*Doli* is usually a swing, but apparently this cannot be the meaning here. *Dola* is especially an offering to evil spirits who are demons, such as Riri Yaka.

"It is uncertain if the first *doliyē* should be translated 'O Offering!'

"In Clough's Dictionary one meaning of *kaḍa* is 'arrow,' but it is very doubtful if the Vaeddas ever use it with this signification, indeed, I have never known *kaḍa* used for arrow. Everywhere the Vaeddas and Sinhalese say *ī*, *īya*, *īgaha*, *ītala*. The translation—'arrow by arrow'—would, however, suit the ceremony."

## INVOCATION TO INDIGOLLAE YAKA AT THE KIRIKORAHA CEREMONY.

### Sitala Wanniya.

XXXII. ***Itiriya-kanda Madarae gala wāḍiyā. Ī dahasak gena sarasāpu dunu ḍiyā, Indigollē devi waeḍiyot subā wiyā. Mini rīri oruwakaṭa tibamiṇ bomiṇ lamā.***

Madara-gala at Itiriya-kanda (is your) lodging. Having brought a thousand arrows (and) decorated bowstrings, God of Indigolla, should you

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come may (you) be fortunate. While putting (your mouth) to a boat (shaped vessel) of human blood (and) while drinking (may you be) delighted[1].

At Sitala Wanniya Indigollae Yaka was regarded as an attendant upon Kande Yaka. It is therefore obvious that this invocation did not arise at Sitala Wanniya or among any Veddas retaining their original *yaka* beliefs, and it is in fact an excellent example of the foreign element in the Vedda religion, and is especially interesting because it is possible in this case to indicate how an invocation of horrific nature has been introduced.

This matter has been discussed in the addendum to Chapter VIII; we may, however, suggest that the boat-shaped vessel of blood may refer to the murder of the 60 priests.

What we have written on p. 165 concerning the attributes of Indigollae Yaka among the village Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula shows that he has entered their beliefs as a powerful but beneficent spirit, though revengeful of neglect or insult. At Sitala Wanniya he is a *yaka* attendant on Kande Yaka. He may have attained this position immediately on his adoption, in which case his terrifying invocation must have been subsequently introduced and carelessly attached to the friendly *yaka*. Or the invocation, which is clearly only a fragment of a long formula, may portray something of his character when first adopted, and though his attributes have been softened to the usual friendly quality of Vedda *yaku*, a portion of the invocation appropriate to him may have lingered. We consider the first of these hypotheses the more likely, but in any case the existence among the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya of the foreign Indigollae Yaka as a beneficent attendant on Kande Yaka, who is nevertheless invoked with a formula typical of a bloodthirsty Sinhalese demon, is a most interesting example of the foreign elements that we now find in the Vedda religion.

## INVOCATION TO THE MAHA KIRIAMMA.

### Sitala Wanniya.

XXXIII. *Serambara warawē sonda sonda nelun aeti. Ewā nelunnaṭa sonda sonda liyō yati, eka muṇu baḍu*[2] *barndana yati senaga pam kari Serambara pasu karaṇa yati Pangura-gammaṇa.*

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[1] Deriving *laed* from *ras*.

[2] *eka munu badu* for *ek-amunu badu*, things strung together.

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In Horabora tank there will be excellent lotus. To gather them excellent women go; tying on strings of beads they go. The multitude who cherish affection, leaving Horabora behind, go to Pangara gammana.

The Veddas of Sitala Wanniya told us that they did not invoke the Kiriamma with offerings for the cure of sickness though they had heard that the Veddas of the Bintenne did so and Handuna gave us these lines as part of the Bintenne invocation, which he said he had learnt from his father. He only understood the first few words which he translated "There are fine lotus in Horaboraweva and fine women go to pluck them." A variant of this invocation—if such it be—has been published by Mr Louis De Zoysa[1] as a song of the Veddas of Horaborawewa.

*Sorabora wewē sonda olu nelum ę*
*Miwā nelannaṭa sonda liyō e*
*Kalu kiralā sudu kiralā uyā de*
*Olu sahāl bat kannaṭa mālu naę.*

Fine, fine water-lilies and lotuses grow in Sorabora tank!
These to gather come fine, fine women.
They make them into black and white curries;
To eat the water-lily-seed rice there are no curries.

Obviously both versions are corrupt and have been derived from an invocation (No. XXXIX) sung at the *kirikoraha* ceremony.

## INVOCATION TO THE KIRIAMMA OF INDIGOLLAEWA ASKING FOR SUCCESS IN HUNTING.

### Bandaraduwa.

XXXIV. *Irī handa Monara galada wæḍiyā*
*Ī dahasak wida tara karapu duna diyā*
*Yanḍa enḍa diya pā man balāpiyā*
*Indigollē Devi wæḍiyot sukā wiyā*

*Aeli gigiran piṭa inda walu kapina lamā*
*Diya gigiran piṭa inda diya damana lamā*
*Naddhennē dunu diya ala budē lamā*
*Riri orawa piṭa sakman karana lamā*

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[1] Note on the Origin of the Veddas, with a few specimens of their songs and charms. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 100.

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*Oba tula rajuṭa oba tula wāḍī arraṭu lā*
*Moba tula rajuṭa moba tula wāḍi arraṭu lā*
*De pili rajuṭa de pili wāḍi arraṭu lā*
*Tawa mona nidida? Dan tula raju marāpulu lā.*

Iri-kanda (Sow-hill) and Monara-gala (Peacock-rock) are (her) resting-places.
(She has) a thousand arrows, and bow-strings made with strength to pierce.
Look at the path on which her watery feet come and go.
Should the Goddess of Indigolla proceed (along it) there will be good luck.

(She is) the Lady who spins the clouds (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the waterfalls,
The Lady who subdues the water (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the water.
The Lady whose hand is small for the bow-string of the sounding bow (?),
The Lady who walks behind the boat (shaped vessel) of blood.

To the great king on that side that great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the great king on this side this great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the kings on both sides the resting places on both sides were given up, it is said.
What (opportunity was there) still for sleep? The wealthy great kings were killed, it is said.

"*Oba* and *moba* are Sinhalese or Elu words for 'there' and 'here' according to Clough; but are never used colloquially by Sinhalese, whereas they are in common use by the Vaeddas, and I was told by them they meant 'on that side' and 'on this side,' *otta* (Sin. *ohaṭa*) and *metta* (Sin. *mehaṭa*) being used for 'there' and 'here.'

"The penultimate *lā* of the last line appears to be pleonastic.

"The translation of the third line of the second verse is doubtful. It may mean 'the little lady whose hand (guides) the bow-string of the sounding bow,' and this would agree with her title *Lamā*, but as she is not elsewhere referred to as being young or small I have not inserted this translation in the verse."

This invocation was written down for us by Tissahami the Vedda Arachi. It is therefore not surprising to find that it contains little that belongs to the Vedda stratum of thought. The invocation is headed *Indigollae Kiri Ammā daḍayamaḷa* *natana kavi* "Song danced for hunting to Kiriamma of Indigollae." We did not have the opportunity of discussing the meaning of this invocation in the field, and indeed knew nothing of its contents until Mr. Parker translated it. With regard to the significance of this invocation Mr Parker writes: "Indigollae Kiriamma is here treated as the Huntress Goddess of the waters, who sends the rain which enables the hunters to track the deer. The boat of blood is referred to in an invocation of her husband, the Indigollaewa Yaka.

"Apparently two other Yakas endeavoured to take from her the two hills which she haunted, but in the end she killed the intruders and regained these resting-places[1]."

## INVOCATIONS TO THE RAHU YAKU.

These are invocations to a Sinhalese demon who has been taken over by the Veddas and assumed Vedda attributes. The most striking alteration that the demon has undergone is that instead of the single Rahu Yaka of the Sinhalese the Veddas speak of three Rahu Yaku (Sitala Wanniya) or of male and female spirits Raku Yaka and Yakini (Bandaraduwa). The Sitala Wanniya story of the Vedda brothers who became the Rahu Yaku has been given in Chapter VII, but we do not know anything concerning the origin of the Yaka and Yakini who are completely foreign in character.

### Sitala Wanniya.

XXXV. *Ran adukku ekkerena, ran kadu ekkerena, gas manda ekkerena, hudu hamba aetun kara dennă. Yam antaruwak wenda epă. Oppu gatta.*

Together with golden cooked food, with golden swords, with toddy (lit. tree spirit) we gave white samba rice. We do not want any danger to occur to us. Take the offering.

With Handuna's help a translation of this invocation was prepared which is practically identical with that provided by Mr Parker. Handuna explained that in this invocation *gas manda*, lit. "core of a tree," stood for "coconut."

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[1] "Her origin has not been mentioned in any of these invocations; the Sinhalese state that she is Mohini, the beautiful incarnation of Vishnu, and mother of Aiyanar, the great Forest God of Ceylon."

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XXXVI. *Nārinagé saeduna, bōrinagé saeduna. Gini Rāhu Bandāra ena vēlāwa kadu hrawahamak saedi ya.*

The Nā tree is made, and the Bō tree is made. At the time when the chief, Gini Rāhu, comes, a fight with swords will be made.

The Veddas could neither explain the meaning of the words of this invocation, nor state the significance of the whole.

### Unuwatura Bubula.

XXXVII. *Gini wahalak sadāla, rān bāla pandamak sadāla, ran ī iṭi sadāla, Gini Rāhu Baṇḍāra ran ī iṭi sadāla mē magul maḍuwaṭa waḍinna ran mōlat balanna.*

As we have constructed a Fire Palace, as we have made a light (resting) on a golden support (?), as we have made with wax golden arrows, O Chief, Gini Rāhu, as we have made with wax golden arrows, be pleased to proceed to this festival shed and to look at the golden mortar also.

The Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula understood this invocation in a somewhat different sense.

Gini Rāhu Bandar come to this shelter, look upon the golden mortar. The shelter has a roof of fire, within it is a golden torch and golden bees'-wax.

### INVOCATIONS SUNG AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

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We were told that the *kolamaduwa* ceremony was performed until recently with considerable pomp and circumstance by the Veddas of Bandaraduwa. Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, gave us the following invocations as some of those that he learnt to sing when as a youth he lived among the Veddas. Tissahami wrote down these invocations after the partial rehearsal of the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which was arranged for our benefit at Henebedda, a description of which is given in Chapter IX.

When discussing the *kolamaduwa* we were told that Veddas were sometimes sent for by the peasant Sinhalese because of the superior protection afforded to the cattle fold by their invocations and dances. The tradition as to this practice was quite definite and we do not doubt that it occurred formerly, but we could hear of no recent instance in which Veddas alone officiated. 782 648

This did not surprise us for we met with no Veddas who knew these long invocations, and we believe that this practice must have ceased throughout the Vedirata at least two or three generations ago. The necessary conditions existed in those days when, as we were assured, there were communities of village Veddas with shaman of repute such as no longer exist, and we may instance the history of Lindegala given on pp. 171 and 172 as a case in point. Nevertheless the custom survives in a modified form, for Tissahami with three Veddas performed a *kolamaduwa* ceremony at Damenegama in 1903 with the object of stopping an epidemic, alleged to be dysentery, which was then raging in the neighbouring villages. [731 755]

A very large number of spirits are invoked, but as has been indicated in Chapter IX Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, and the *yaku* of the recent dead were not of the number. This demonstrates that the ceremony as it at present exists is essentially foreign, and therefore the length and nature of the three invocations given are not surprising. The invocation to Unapane Kiriamma which recites her deeds agrees well with all we could find out about her independently, and suggests that these invocations arose among such settled village Veddas as those mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles referred to in the first chapter. 782

The four invocations written down by Tissahami were discussed at length with him, the shaman of the Henebedda Veddas sitting with us, though as this man—a half bred—knew only parts of these invocations and greatly admired Tissahami, the translations obtained in this way only represent the opinion of Tissahami, and presumably that of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas from whom he learnt them in his youth. In these circumstances it is not surprising that two of these translations differ considerably from those furnished by Mr Parker, and this difference is so great in the invocation (No. XXXIX) which should be sung while the leaves are being slashed from the *kolamaduwa* (cf. p. 269) that we have thought it best to give our field version as well as Mr Parker's translation. Some of the allusions, for instance, the reference to the shark contained in the first portion 782 539

782 of No. XXXIX, were equally unintelligible to our field informants
539 and to Mr Parker.

### INVOCATION OF UNAPANE KIRIAMMA AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

XXXVIII. 1. *Uda-näwara häṭägena*
*Yaṭi-näwara häṭägena*
*Sal äyan sädägena*
*Pol äyan sädägena*

2. *Aeli äetä sädägena*
*Ru näwä sädägena*
*Uḍu wiyan sädägena*
*Waṭa wiyan sädägena*

3. *Raṇ piyöwili sädägena*
*Netti mälē sädägena*
*Raṇ hara gal sädägena*
*Moṭṭaekkili sädägena.*

4. *Siṭinē ätaraṭa*
*Mälāwak waeṭi siṭa*
*Miya gudin sat dawäsaṭa*
*Raṇ diwas waeṭi siṭa.*

5. *Sat Pättini Deviyannem*
*Teda wäran läbägena*
*Moṭṭaekkili läbägena*
*Kataragam wahälen*

6. *Kaḍa hängal labägena*
*Teda wäraṇ ladägena*
*Sidda Mängra Deviyannem*
*Kiri dälumä läbägena*

7. *Valli nam Ammā gē*
*Kalu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa*
*Hudu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa*
*Rä wahun muṭṭāweṭa*

8. *Deva diwas ēlāpā*
*Unāpānē Kiri Ammā*
*Sat pēretu Kumārī*
*Uḍu wiyan Kumārī*

9. *Waṭa wiyan Kumārī*
*Moṭṭaekkili Kumārī*
*Raṇ piyöwili Kumārī*
*Raṇ hara gal Kumārī*
*Vidāgama Kumārī!—*

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10. *Asyi pämä maua pämäda*
*Hum kiri sädäpauma*
*Kaḍa hängal sädäpauma?*
*Raṇ diwas elāpau*
*Raṇ naḍū hiyäpau.*

1. Cutting Udu-nuwara (jungle),
Cutting Yati-nuwara (jungle),
Planting Sal gardens,
Planting Coconut gardens,

2. Training elephants (f.) and the tusk elephant,
Training the riding buffalo,
Making ceiling cloths,
Making side (wall) cloths,

3. Making golden coverings,
Making forehead ornaments,
Making golden necklaces (?),
Making head cloths,

4. While (you were) living;
Having fallen into adversity,
Seven days after (your) fatal sickness,
After (their) golden divine eyes had fallen (on you),

5. From the seven Pattini Goddesses
Receiving their gifts of power;
Receiving head coverings
From the Kataragam palace,

6. Receiving a pair of robes;
Receiving the gift of power,
From the deity the God Mangala
Receiving coconuts[1].

7. (Receiving from) the mother called Valli, cattle
For the black cattle (lit. horn-bearer) fold
(And) for the white cattle fold,
(And) beautiful chatties for cooking-pots;

8. (You) who cast down (on us your) divine eyes,
Kiri Ammā of Undipāna,
The Princess foremost of seven (Kiri Ammas),
Princess of ceiling cloths,

9. Princess of wall cloths,
Princess of head coverings,
Princess of golden coverings,
Princess of golden necklaces,
Princess of Vidāgama!—

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[1] Cf. note [2] p. 277.

10. Why (are you) late, what is (the cause of) the delay
When we have made ready young coconuts,
When we have made ready a pair of robes?
Cast (on us your) golden divine eyes;
Declare (your) golden decision.

"*Moṭṭuchkili* is formed of two Tamil words, *moṭṭai* (pronounced *mottini*), a bald head, and *kili* a strip of cloth. The word does not occur in Winslow's dictionary.

"*Piyenili* is a verbal noun derived from *piyanawa* to cover or shut.

"*Kara gal* may here mean 'stones for the neck,' i.e. beads; the usual meaning is whet-stones.

"*Ambara*, horn-bearer, is a *kaelē bāsa* word which usually means buffalo.

"*Peretu* for *peratu*, foremost.

"*Sadapumu* is a peculiar form, the past participial adjective with the termination of the first person plural."

The first three verses enumerate the works that Unapane Kiriamma is traditionally supposed to have performed during her life on earth. The fourth and fifth verses indicate that she died after a prolonged illness and on the seventh day after her death received power, i.e. became a *yaka*. Verses four to seven mention her and the gifts presented to her by various superior gods who, as Mr Parker writes, are all Tamil deities, "by Pattini the Goddess of chastity and controller of epidemics, who has seven manifestations or forms; Skanda the god of the Kataragam temple; Mangala, who may be Ayiyanar; and Walliamma the wife of Skanda, who according to the traditions of Ceylon married her at Kataragama." Mr Parker suggests that in the third line of the eighth verse "The Princess foremost of Seven" refers to the position of Unapane Kiriamma as "the most important personage among the seven minor Kiriammas to whom worship is paid by the Southern Vaeddas. Four others among them are local princesses or chieftainesses, and two are the *sakti* or female manifestations of minor deities. In another district Miriyabaedda Kiriamma is considered to be the most important one of this group, and the Unapane Kiriamma is there held to occupy only the third place."

## INVOCATION SUNG AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

### XXXIX.

1. *Masāmasa mūda maedde masa mōrā kapāgena lē keliyaṭada mas keliyaṭada giyē ara Wālimba gala dun wēḍi panikkiyā.*

2. *Nā kaḍuwen koṭa Bō kaḍuwen dinum dakinñayi.*
*Bō kaḍuwen koṭā Bo kaḍuwen dinun danñayi*
*Dinun dakinñayi, tōpā yāluwā.*

3. *Kadu hēwākan karaganō*
*Hat hēwākan karanñada karanña(da)?*
*Hat hēwākan karaganō*
*Kadu hēwākan karañada karanñadae?*

4. *Obama obama oba Horabara waewā nō;*
*Mobama mobama moba Māwilingangā nō,*
*Anḍā diya duwana Māwilingangā nō,*
*Enawā kiyannan Nilmal gangā nō.*

5. *Horabara waewē kānuwa piṭa inñada?*
*Aela welē wel eliyen enñada?*
*Daena walalu nada dīlā enñada?*
*Kāriya kiyannaṭa Nilmal enñada?*

*Pālu raṭayi, Wanniya, otanin òhaṭa;*
*Gōlu gena panini wael hinnō aengaṭa,*
*Reru aewit diya kelinā sonda ruwaṭa.*
*Yālu topit giyoda Sorabora waewaṭa?*

*Sorabora waewē egoḍat innan Vaeddō;*
*Sorabora waewē me goḍat innan Vaeddō;*
*Sorabora waewē de goḍama innan Vaeddō,*
*Apaṭat nelun mal awulanḍa deddō?*

*Sorabora waewē sonda sonda olu nelun aetī;*
*Ewuwā nelannaṭa sonda sonda liyō etī;*
*Kalu karalā hudu karalā nyā deti.*
*Olu sālē bat kannaṭa mālu naetī.*

6. *Mī kalumal aella wicārē*
*Atat damā yana murā gamanayi bālannē*
*Mī Kaḍagat gāla wicārē*
*Īsaṭa dāmā yānō is moṭṭaekkili bālannē*
*Mī Niyandawarā gala wicārē*
*Āṭaṭa payaṭa dāmā yanō gīgiri nānda aḍsennē.*
*Kalumal Nangiṭa bāendapu paeni mula kēlen raṭa waeṭī gē.*
*Kalumal Nangiṭa baendapu amā mula honden rāṭā waeṭī gē*
*Āngara naeṭun naṭanna Wanniṭa honda honda bera paḍa gācāpē.*
*Keri hat beri hat āpaṭa vīpā tōba paṅgiri bola bindīpē*

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*Koha kirillan tälāwē näla pirati Hannaskadägē närā gaman pinimē*
*Ātaja wāḍan piyaja wāḍan dasta gigiri sälenni,*
*Näla pirati Hannaskaḍa muḷpālaḍayi dawa enni.*
*Miṇi bäbā tälāwē näla pirati Hannaskaḍa närā gāman karanni.*
*Dästa dänā dästa gigiri sälenni.*

1. Cutting the shark fish in the midst of the Masāmasa Sea, did that skilful elephant catcher to whom Wälimba-gala is given go for the sport with blood or for the sport with fish?

2. Having cut with the Nā sword I shall see victories (i.e. I shall be victorious) with the Bō sword.
Having cut with the Bō sword I shall gain victories with the Bō sword;
I shall see victories, You Friend.

3. (When) fighting with swords shall I fight shall I fight with (my) hands (also)?
(When) fighting with (my) hands shall I fight shall I fight with swords?

4. There, there, there is Horabora waewa;
Here, here, here is the Mahawaeli-ganga
The Mahawaeli-ganga in which the water laments as it flows.
"I am coming, Nilmal-ganga," I shall say.

5. (He longs to return to distant Horabora, and his thoughts now dwell on it.)
Shall I stop on the sluice of Horabora?
Shall I come from the open ground of the field on the channel?

Shall I come now, making my bangles resound?
Shall I come to Nilmal (ganga) to declare the matter? (i.e. to tell the truth about the district. He means that he need not go there to tell it).

It is a deserted district, Wanniyā, from end to end (lit. from there to there);
Bringing their pupils (young ones, with them) the small creeping ants spring on to my body.
Teal come (to the tank) and sport very beautifully in the water.
Friends, have you also been to Sorabora waewa?

There will be Vaeddas on this side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on that side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on even both sides of Sorabora waewa.
Will they permit us also to collect lotus flowers?

There will be very lovely white lotus in Sorabora waewa;
Very handsome women will have been sent to pluck them;

After preparing and cleaning and cooking them they will give them (to be eaten).
For eating (with) rice made from seeds of the white lotus there is no meat (the game having been driven away).

6. (When I examine) this Kalumal waterfall
It looks (as though) I am joining in a love (making) journey.
In the examination of this Kadagat-gala what is fixed on the head (? of the rock) looks like a head-cloth.
In the examination of this Niyandawarā-gala the sound of the jingling bangles placed on the hands and feet is heard.
From the end of the bundle of honey tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
From the mouth of the bundle of rice (?) tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
For the Wanniyā who dances the *angura* dances beat excellent tunes on the tom-toms.
We do not want lame women's pingo loads, or sham (or refuse) loads; tie up desirable betel leaves.
The reed pipes of Kaha Kirillantalawa (Orioles' plain) being in front, it seems to be the love (making) journey of Hannachelā (hill).
Having garlands for the hands and garlands for the feet (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.
The reed pipes being in front Hannachelā comes running to the Chief place (summit)—(or, they come running to the chief place of Hannachelā).

7. The reed pipes of Mini Kōbōtalāwa (turtle doves' plain) being in front, Hannachelā makes (her) love journey;
Having placed them on both hands (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.

"In this song the Masāmasa Sea is again mentioned; there is probably some legend regarding the shark that was killed in the olden time. In *Ancient Ceylon* I have given reasons for believing that the early Vaeddas were in part a race of fishers.

"The 'blood-game,' *lē keliya*, of the first section may have some connection with blood offerings to demons. The other expression, *mas keliya*, would commonly mean 'meat-game,' but as meat is termed *mālu* at the end of the fifth section it appears to mean here 'fish-game,' the sport of fishing.

"In the fourth section, the singer, living near the Mahawaeli-ganga, thinks he will hear the Nilmal-ganga, apparently a river near Horabora, calling him back to that district. The last

782 539 words of the fifth section give the reason why the Vaeddas have left it,—the want of game. The expression *kalu karalā*, 'having made black,' must refer to some part of the process in preparing the lotus seeds.

"I do not understand the sixth section, in which I have adhered as closely as possible to what appears to be the literal meaning. It would be much more intelligible if pronouns had been inserted; there is only one, *apața epā*, 'we do not want,' which explains nothing.

"Apparently the hill Hannaehelā, with reeds growing in pools on the plains near it (from which the reed pipe, *nalāwa*, is made), reminds the singer of a girl decked with garlands, who is going to be married (or possibly only visiting her younger sister), preceded by men playing these pipes. As I understood it, she takes with her pingo loads of betel, honey and cooked rice, to present to her younger sister, the Kalumal waterfall.

"The meaning of *rapā* in the second verse of this section is uncertain. The word *amā* may be *hambā* or *sambā*, a kind of rice. *Angura* is defined in Clough's Dictionary as 'anointing the body after bathing with perfumes made from sandal wood.'

"*Paengiri kola* is a *kaelēbāsa* expression for betel. *Mini kobo* should be *mini kobeyiyō* (jewelled) turtle doves; some other pigeons are called *bōwā* in Sinhalese, an onomatopoietic word imitating their cooing.

"*Kori kat bori kat* is an expression I have not heard, and the meaning is doubtful."

On account of the great difference between Mr Parker's translation and the meaning of this invocation as it was explained in the field, we now give the translation we wrote down while discussing the matter with our informants. It does not pretend to do more than explain the significance which our informants attributed to the invocation, and at the time we noted it we realised that it was far from being a literal translation. Explanatory remarks are enclosed between square brackets.

(1) Did the Panikkia of mist covered Walimbagala go to the great sea to kill the great shark and bring his flesh and blood?

[The Panikkia is a spirit whose home is Walimbagala

(Friar's Hood). He is doubtless the Walimbagala Yaka of other groups of Veddas.]

(2) Friends I will cut with my sword of Na and Bo and I will be victorious. [The Panikkia speaks to a host of spirits known as the Maha Yakino.]

(3) Did he go to fight with the sword, or to charm with his tongue?

(4) Horaborawewa is far away, the Mahawelliganga the waters of which are blue, is far away. [It was explained that this verse referred to the Veddas of Horabora being far away.]

(5) Are you on the sluice of Horaborawewa? [The *yaku* of dead Veddas are thus addressed.]

They [the *yaku*] will be coming by the fields of Elavella [well-known rice fields].
Are you coming shaking your bangles in your hands?
Nilmal (Kiriamma) are you coming to favour us?
The country of the Wanniyas is abandoned in that direction.
Bears growl and roam (in the abandoned country).
Friend have you been to Horaborawewa where teal swim?
There are Veddas on the far side of Horaborawewa.
There are Veddas on this side of Horaborawewa.
There are Veddas on both sides of Horaborawewa.
Will they allow us to pick lotus flowers?
There are fine *olo* [a plant] and lotus in Horaborawewa.
Beautiful women come to pick them.
(They) cook and give white and black (seeds) [i.e. cleaned and uncleaned seeds].
(There is) no curry to eat the *olo* rice [i.e. the seeds].

(6) See how (they) go along Kalumalella [the stream below the sluice] swinging their hands;
See how (they) go along Kadagangala [a hill] with their heads covered.
Hear the jingling of bangles on the hands and feet of those going to Niyandawaragala [a hill].
The parcel of honey [tied up in leaves] for Nilmal Nangi is slanting.
The parcel of rice for Kalumal Nangi is erect.
Beat the tom-tom for the Wanniya to dance well.

Do not give small and torn betel leaves to us.

782 See how Pereti Hannaehela going and coming from Kaha 539 Kirilian *talawa* jingling the bangles on her hands....

Pereti Hannaehela is coming running to the Kolamaduwa.

(7) Pereti Hannaehela of Minikobo *talawa* comes jingling bangles on her hands.

## INVOCATION OF THE MAHA YAKINO CEREMONY.

XL. *Kolamaduwo bat mūl ba(n)dina-kuta kiyana kaviya.*

*Kayē raṭē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē ran āmā mul bādinnē badinnē. Kāya wal raṭē gamē yanḍa nēwēyi. Tōpē raṭē gamē yanḍayi mē ran āmā mul bādinnē badinnē. Muna muna wel gan kōtāla dō mē ran āmā mul bādinnē bādinnē. Kāyē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē nā kola wīyan badinnē badinnē. Tōpē raṭē gamē yanḍa mē nā kola wī bādin dinnē, bādinnē.*

Song which is sung while tying up the bundles of rice for the *kolamaduwa.*

To go to a village in whose countries are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden Ambrosia? Not to go to a village in the country of anyone (else) whatever, (but) to go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these bundles of golden ambrosia. Having cut which fields are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden ambrosia? To go to a village in whose country are (we) tying, are (we) tying these *nā* leaf canopies? To go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these *Nā* leaf canopies.

Our field translation of this invocation substantially agrees with Mr Parker's, though as might be expected our informants gave "rice" in place of "Ambrosia."

## INVOCATION OF AMBARAPOTI KIRIAMMA AT THE KOLAMADUWA CEREMONY.

XLI. *Gawara wil mānādi elawālā helē yudda*
*Bumbara mala piṭa indagena harayi nānda wenama sadda*
*Ämbarāla pusinu sundara palandinawa ïtā sudda*
*Ambarapoti Ättina mīsa me naduwaṭa hawuru adda,*
*Monḍarinju hara nila tamba pota sēmayi*
*Bilindugu äsāna rowa yodunā*
*Baden koson mal malidan sēmayi*
*Bella waṭaṭa gōmbara ïsunā*
*Sagga puskola e ran todu gena*
*Nāsikāwa nalalaṭa obinā*

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*Kumala patul deba derana tabāgena*
*Waediyayi Ambarāpoti Ammā.*
*Salā didī rasla matupiṭa peṭiyā perelena andun*
*Walā yaṭin pāeyu sandē deviyō mandinnawa andun*
*Ran toranaka ramba toranaka deviyō saetapena andun*
*Ūva tudolā mal sāmī maduwaṭa saeraunna andun.*

While the sambar deer trusted to the pool, being driven away it was attacked in the jungle.
The Bambarā bee sitting on the flower will make quite another cry (i.e. objects) about bathing.
It is very cleanly to put on frequent sandal-wood after grinding it (to powder).
Except Ambarāpoti Ammā who is there (to undertake) this business?
The sapphire of the peacock's neck (shines) like a plate of copper.
The throne of Bilindi is made beautifully.
From his body (hang) margosa flowers like a garland,
Round his neck are scattered freckles (light patches),
He has ear-rings of gold joined to talipat leaf,
His nose is worthy of his forehead.
The child placing his two feet on the earth
Is greater than Ambarāpoti Ammā.
As a *petiya* (fish) is rolled over on the top of the eddying wave,
Like the moon risen from under the cloud, the *deviyō* advances.
Like an arch of gold, an arch of ramba grass, the *deviyō* reclines,
Like the Lord of Vaeddas, who has renown throughout Uva, adorned for the (wedding) hall.

The first four lines of our field version of this invocation agree tolerably well with Mr Parker's translation except that nothing is said about bathing, the second line running "The bees seated on the flowers make humming noises." The next eight lines were given to us as follows:

"The child should be like the colour of the peacock's neck.

"The body (of the child) should be like the flowers of the kohomba tree (margosa tree), like the flowers of the damba tree are the *gomera*[1] round the neck (of the child).

"The earrings made of talipot leaves look beautiful (when worn) in the face.

"Ambarāpoti Ammā came striding across the firmament."

Of the remaining four lines only the last is substantially different from Mr Parker's. It runs "See how the Malsāmi who has authority over Uva comes to the *maduwa*."

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[1] *Gomera* are light flecks on the skin which are much admired.

# CHAPTER XI

## ARTS AND CRAFTS

517 IT is not our purpose in this short chapter to attempt to describe systematically the crafts of the Veddas, this has already been done by the Sarasins and we shall, therefore, limit ourselves to touching on matters which especially interested us, or concerning which we have unrecorded information.

The arts and crafts of the Veddas are of the simplest nature, their belongings are few, and there is no certain attempt at ornamentation on any of these. Even personal adornment is so lacking that it may be disregarded. The highest artistic attainments of the Veddas seem to be their songs and invocations, and these, with their ceremonial dances, in which they may be said to have specialised, seem to have absorbed all that part of their mental energy which remains after providing for their daily necessities. There is no reason to believe that their artistic development was ever any higher than it is at the present day, when the only form of decorative art in which they indulge for its own sake, is rude drawing on rocks which we shall now describe[1].

### ROCK DRAWINGS.

532 Figs. 1 and 2 of Plate LVI show rock drawings made by the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya at Pihilegodagalge and another cave near it. Since our return we have ascertained that other Veddas

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[1] It is possible that a few individuals are pleased by simple geometrical patterns. [177] There are traces of ornamentation on two of the pots shown in Plate LXII although this had avowedly been copied from foreign pots.

[p. 318]

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make drawings[1], but unfortunately we did not pay attention to this matter until we had seen Pihilegodagalge.

This was due to the frequent occurrence of rough drawings and scribblings made by Tamil gall-nut collectors in some of the rock-shelters sometimes used by the Henebedda Veddas. The Veddas obviously had nothing to do with these, and they denied that they were responsible for the only other drawings that we saw, namely those of an elephant and two men in Punchikiriammagalge.

Probably drawings are made in many of the sloping rock-shelters and are habitually washed away by the monsoon. Indeed this view was put forward by the men of the Sitala Wanniya group who stated that all Veddas could make pictures.

Pihilegodagalge was, however, specially well situated for the preservation of the drawings, and the pictures on the back wall of the cave were never touched by rain. The drawings were usually made by women, who said they did them when they were waiting for the men to return from hunting, apparently merely to amuse themselves. We feel confident that no magical import attaches to these pictures, the usual subjects of which are men and women, various animals and the hide vessel *maludema* (Sin. *hangotu*) in which honey is collected. Ashes were mixed with a little saliva in the palm of the hand and streaked on to the rock with the forefinger of the right hand, the spots of the leopard being put in with a charcoal paste prepared in the same manner. 386

Plate LVI, fig. 1 shows on the right a *maludema*, a vessel made of deer's hide in which rock-honey is collected. The radiating lines which make this drawing appear like the sun's disc, represent handles made of loops of creeper, while the spots inside indicate the honey. The *maludema* (a photograph of which is given in Plate LXV) is a favourite subject and occurs in a number of rock paintings. Below the *maludema* on the right is a dog and below this a leopard is represented. On the left the two long figures which might be taken for centipedes really portray the big monitor lizard (*Varanus bengalensis*), the vertical lines representing ribs.

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[1] Mr H. C. P. Bell has written to us that he has seen drawings in the rock-shelters used a few years ago by the Veddas of Tamankaduwa, and Mr Alfred Clark formerly of the Woods and Forests Department has also observed them.

Plate LVI, fig. 2 shows on the right a leopard and dogs while on the left men and women are seen. This illustration does not show very clearly the difference between men and women which was pointed out to us. Lines pointing upwards were drawn from the heads of women to show that their hair was tied in a knot. This distinction is very difficult to understand. The hair of both men and women is equally unkempt, the women certainly tie theirs into a knot behind, but this is quite frequently done by men also as a matter of convenience; and to the uninitiated these lines radiating from the head rather give the appearance of loose hair than the reverse.

The drawings in Plate LVII, fig. 1 are the work of a man, the grandfather of Handuna, the leader of the group. He is considered to have been an exceptionally good draughtsman. He was once obliged to go to Batticaloa the official headquarters of the province, the reason was difficult to follow, but it appeared to have been connected with a murder which had taken place. On his return to the cave he made a picture of what had impressed him most, namely, "the white man on horseback." Two representations of this are seen on the left, on the right there is a group of men and women surrounding a man who holds a bow above his head. The lower horizontal line represents the bow while the upper is the string and the vertical line the arrow. The dots scattered around the arrow represent its feathers.

Plate LVII, fig. 2 represents a number of drawings of *maludema* in a cave near Sitala Wanniya.

Plates LVIII to LXI are photographs of pictures made for us on brown paper by several members of the Sitala Wanniya community. The upper part of Plate LVIII shows a leopard attacking a dog, this was made by Vela, below it is a row of men drawn by the wife of Handuna. On Plate LIX a *maludema* is depicted on the left, next on the right are three women, two drawn horizontally and the third vertically, but upside down; in all of them the body has been carried down too far,

Plate LVI

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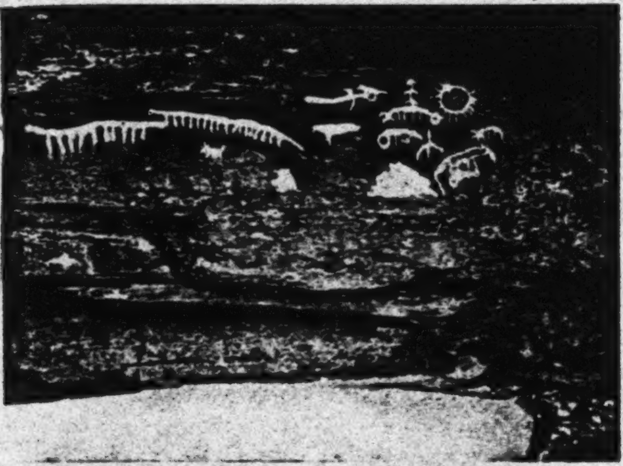

Fig. 1. Rock drawings in Pihilegodagalge cave

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Fig. 2. Rock drawings in Pihilegodagalge cave

[facing p. 320]

Plate LVII

532

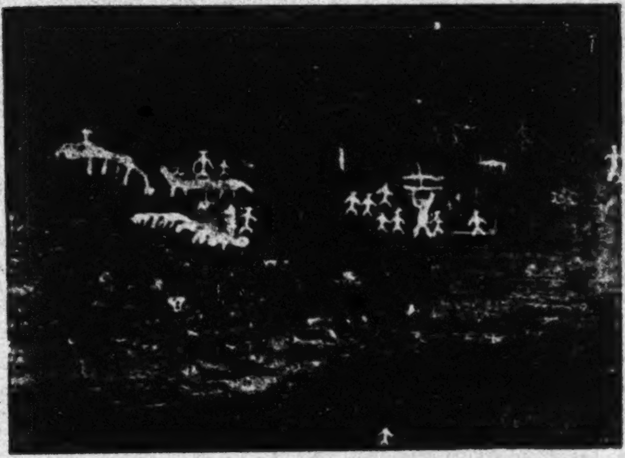


Fig. 1. Rock drawings in Pihilegodagalge cave

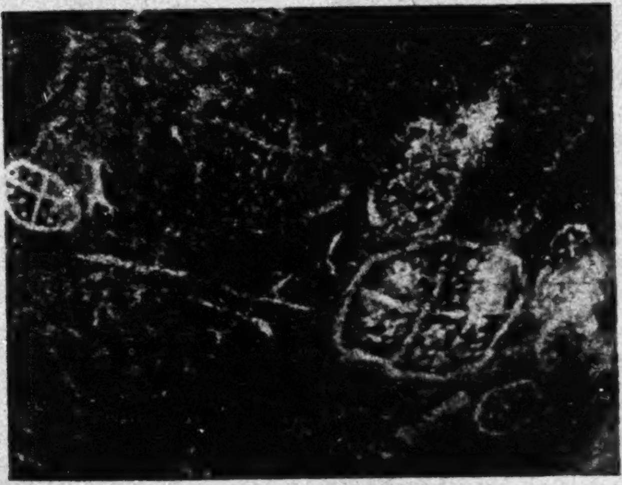
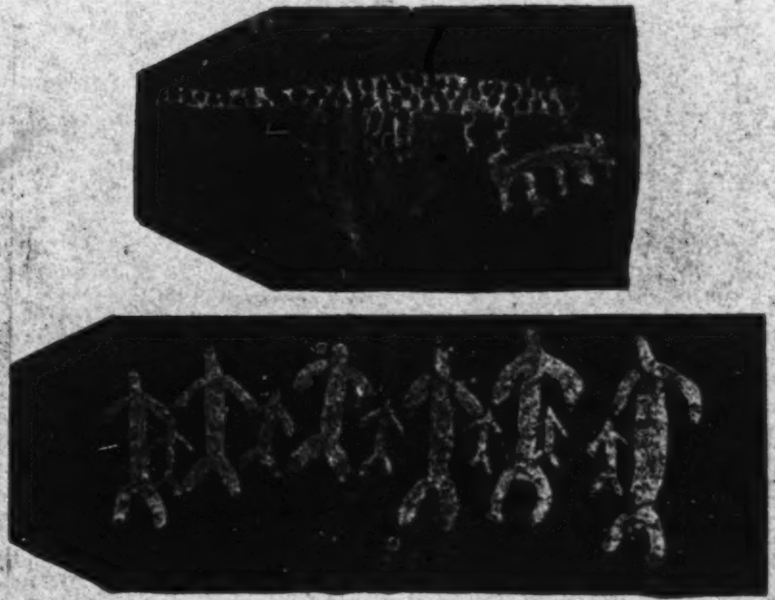


Fig. 2. Rock drawings of *hangala* in Gamakandegalge cave

[facing p. 320 b]

Plate LVIII

[facing p 320 c]

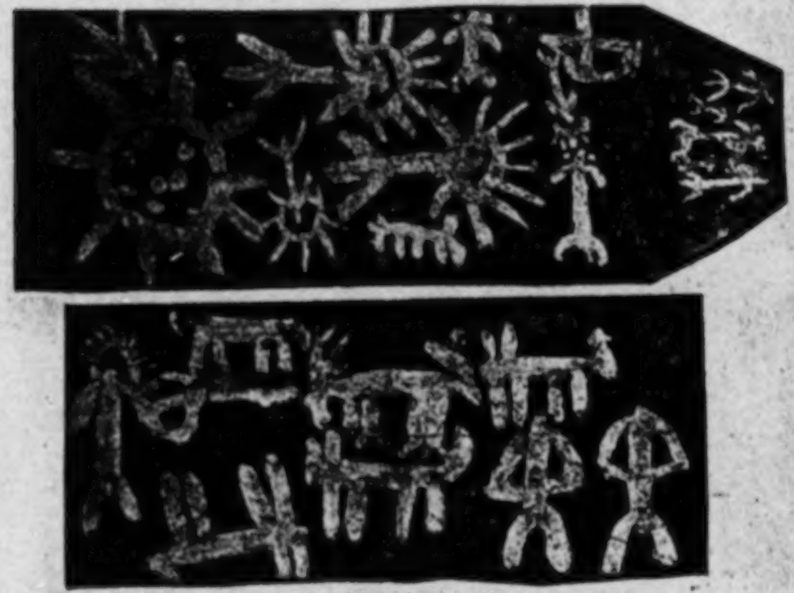


Vedda drawings

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AES Vedda AES

Plate LIX

[facing p. 320d]



Vedda drawings

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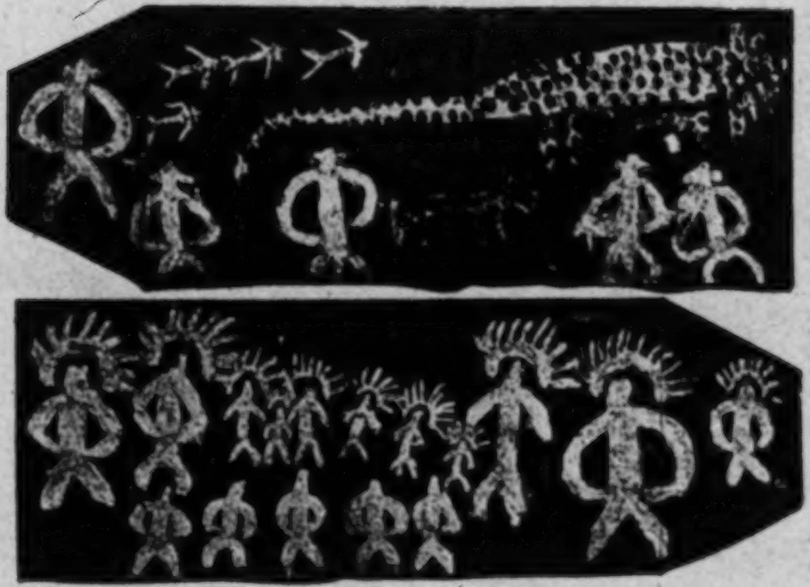
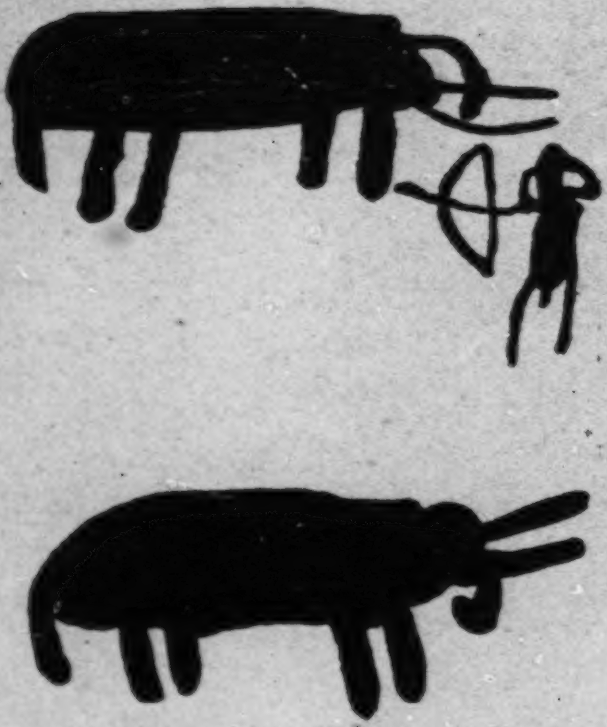
Plate LX

[facing p 320 e]



Vedda drawings

Plate LXI



Vedda drawings

[facing p. 320 f]

so as to project downwards between the legs: the radiating lines 532 above the head were said to represent hair. In the lower part of the photograph in the centre is a dog. The next three figures represent a bow and arrow, a woman and a man, looking at them from above to below. On the right is a group of men. The lower figure in this plate shows a sambar deer in the centre and four dogs, two men and a woman. Plate LX shows a leopard, a dog and several men and women.

The figures of elephants and a man with a bow and arrow on Plate LXI were drawn on grey millboard and were so faint that it was necessary to blacken them before reproduction. The carelessness with which the trunk is put in is noteworthy.

The only other occasions on which we saw pigments used were at the Bambura Yaka and Rahu Yaka ceremonies described in Chapter IX, black and yellowish-brown marks being [386] made on the properties prepared. The black marks were made with charcoal paste, the brownish marks with turmeric.

## PANTOMIME.

The only other art practised by the Veddas is that of 536 pantomime from which they undoubtedly derive real pleasure. Within the limits of their daily experience they are good actors, and will most faithfully portray their own method of doing things. The zest with which a number of Henebedda Veddas spontaneously prepared the properties for a pantomimic exhibition of honey gathering, and then enacted the scene at Bendiyagalge caves, was very striking and has been referred to in Chapter IV.

Another piece of pantomime which we never saw enacted spontaneously but which was performed at our request, was the stalking of game. Directly the object to be "stalked" had been indicated, the stalker fixed his eyes on it, and then approached noiselessly and warily, with body bent and head forward, every muscle ready for instant action, till within a few paces of the object when he would straighten his body and return to the rest of the party at his usual easy pace.

## LEGENDS.

773 538 There is an extraordinary absence of legend among all groups of Veddas who have not been greatly influenced by Sinhalese. Concerning the origin of men, natural features, and things the Veddas seem absolutely incurious, nor do their songs refer to any of these subjects. There are no stories of talking animals or of how their rock-shelters were formed; they have not even a tale of their own origin. Apart from a few accounts of the origin of particular *yaku* and the deeds they performed (e.g. the pig-hunting of Bambura Yaka) the following two legends were all that we could hear though the most diligent inquiry was made.

### The Origin of Fire.

773 There was a man who had fire; he distributed this to animals, trees and stones, but a little remained to him at the end and this he swallowed. His name was Wasawatiya. "We cannot say whether he was a Vedda. Because he swallowed this fire we all get hungry, for we all have fire within us. There were men before Wasawatiya but they could not talk; otherwise they were as ourselves. Wasawatiya made and sent the first dog to those people, and the dog barked at them; so that those people feared greatly and stammering and stuttering began to talk, and the first words were *ballakai, ballakai*—'dog will bite.'" Handuna of Sitala Wanniya was our informant and he also gave the following account of the rainbow.

### The Rainbow.

[824] When there is rain there is a "kind of yellow bow" (rainbow) in the sky. One of our women made a bow of wood like it and that is all.

### How the hill Yakagala came by its name.

The following story was told by Wannaku of Uniche a variant occurs as a song at Sitala Wanniya and is given i Chapter XV. Once upon a time two families of Veddas live at Aralu Talawa about two miles east of Peria Pillumalai in the Eastern Province on the Badulla-Batticaloa road. Now these Veddas possessed elephants and cattle, so that when two Moormen pedlars came and saw the Veddas living well and in comfort, they thought how good it would be to kill them and take their goods. The Moormen asked the Veddas to barter honey with them, and Moormen and Veddas went to the hill now called Yakagala, for there were *bambara* colonies among its rocks. The Veddas went down ladders of creepers to the combs, but before they could take the honey the ladders were cut by the Moormen and the Veddas were dashed to pieces. The Moormen came back to the settlement and when the Veddas' wives questioned them as to the whereabouts of their husbands the Moormen said they were bathing in a stream close by. The women did not believe this and, suspecting foul play, went to look for their husbands and found the bodies at the foot of the precipice. They went back to their houses, let loose the cattle and fired their houses, for they determined to kill themselves. The elder sister saw the Moormen running towards them, so standing on the edge of a precipice she called her young sister to her saying that her bangle was broken. As her younger sister stood near her she suddenly grasped her round the body and jumped over the cliff. The *yaku* of these women and of their husbands still remain in the neighbourhood of their old dwelling-place which because of them looks clean, as if folk still lived there. The rock bee still lives on this hill to which the Veddas resort to take honey.

## POTTERY.

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The Veddas make very rough pots. A lump of dark coloured clay is taken, patted into the desired shape, left to dry in the air, and then baked. The Henebedda Veddas who made the pots shown in Plate LXII said that these pots were placed on the fire and covered with pieces of dried wood so as to be submitted to heat on every side. The less sophisticated Veddas [184] of Sitala Wanniya stated that they simply placed the air dried pots on the fire, when they were soon baked hard.

323 In both communities it was said that men and women make
pots, and of five pots bought at Bendiyagalge at different times
three were said to have been made by men and two by women.
Further, it was agreed that pots had been made for a very long
time and our informants at Sitala Wanniya said that they were
made in their grandfather's grandfather's time, the longest period
we ever heard a Vedda mention. A small pot, the upper right-
hand pot of Plate LXII, made by Poromala of Bingoda, has a
[531 rough chevron pattern upon it; no importance or meaning was
177] attached to this, which was avowedly copied from a pot obtained
by barter. The thick open pot without a lip shown in the
lower right-hand corner was made by Poromala (Walaha) who
volunteered the information that the oldest pots were lipless.
The large pot in the centre of the upper row was made by his
wife. The pot to the left of this was made by Poromala
(Walaha) and the pot underneath this by Randu Wanniya. It
is worthy of note that though many fragments of wheel-made
[172] pottery were found in the upper layers of the floor of the
Bendiyagalge caves, no trace of pottery was found in the
deepest layer associated with the quartz implements figured
in Chapter I.

## TOOLS AND WEAPONS.

The bow and arrow with the axe are the only iron tools
411 used by the Veddas for the chase, for fighting, and for general
domestic use. The iron arrow and axe heads are obtained by
[437] barter, as are the areca nut-cutters and strike-a-lights which
most Veddas now possess. To a limited extent the areca nut-
cutters are used as tools, for we have seen the final polishing
and trimming of arrow shafts performed with these.

No spells are recited or other magic used when making axes
411 or bows and arrows. At Henebedda the wood of the *kobbeul*
322 (*Allophylus cobbe*) is used for the bow; a sapling is peeled and
shaved down until the desired amount of flexibility is obtained,
it is then stained black. The bow string is made of the bast o
[283 a tree called *aralu* (*Terminalia chebula*), the same is used to bin
314] that part of the shaft of the arrow pierced by the tang of th
arrow head, the binding being afterwards covered with gum o
resin obtained from the timbiri tree (Diospyros
embryopteris)

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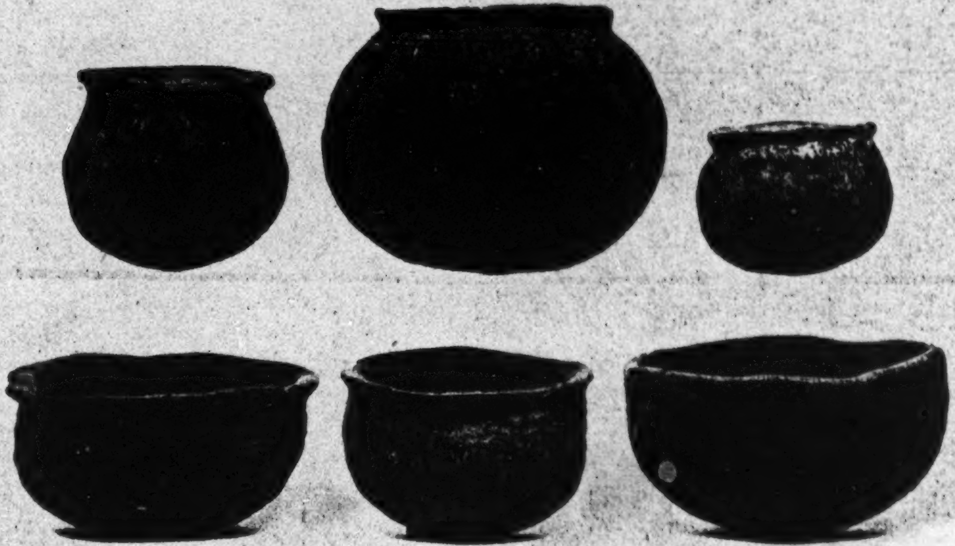
Plate LXII

[facing p. 324]



Vedda pots

resin obtained from the *timbiri* tree (*Diospyros embryopteris*). 411
The shaft of the arrow is commonly made of the wood of the 322
welan tree (*Pterospermum suberifolium*). The arrow is still the
almost universal cutting tool, as we had good opportunity of
ascertaining at Henebedda. There was no knife in the com- 412
munity, and we noticed the skill with which a deer was skinned 252
and cut up with an arrow. The Veddas certainly desired no
better tool, and when we pressed a butcher's knife on one of
them in order to see how he would handle the unaccustomed
tool, it was interesting to note how slowly he worked and how
poor the result was compared with that he obtained with an
arrow, which he held just above the blade somewhat as a
European holds a penholder. No less astonishing was the skill
employed in removing the skull cap with a few strokes of the
axe, not only was the brain lifted out and cooked entire, but it
was removed so neatly and cleanly that the result was more
suggestive of an anatomical preparation than a piece of butcher's
work.

The Veddas we met were all bad or indifferent shots, and 411
we have no doubt that game is seldom shot at a distance
much beyond fifteen or twenty yards, the marvellous stalking
of the Veddas enabling them to approach within this distance.
The bow, to which the string is securely fastened at one end, is
carefully unstrung when not in use. To string it, this end is
placed upon the ground, the upper end of the shaft and the
string being held in the hands, the sole of one foot is then
placed against the middle of the shaft which is steadied, we
might almost say gripped, between the great toe and the second
toe. Much of the weight of the body is thrown against the
middle of the shaft while the hands pull down the upper end to
which the string is quickly secured, as is shown in Plate LXIII.
Plate LXIV shows the position of the hands and arms imme-
diately before the arrow is released. The bowman is Handuna
of Henebedda, who is left-handed and who in spite of being the [145]
father of a large family remains the only left-handed individual
in the community. The length of a bow collected at Henebedda
was 172 cm., while four arrows also obtained at Henebedda
varied from 88 to 105 cm. in length.

411 648 It appears that painted and lacquered arrows were sometimes presented to the Veddas by the Sinhalese kings as signs of gratitude or favour, just as ceremonial forms of other objects were presented to particular Sinhalese[1]. Dr Willey told me of a lacquered bow and arrow which he heard of among a community of sophisticated Veddas, and which he was told ultimately found their way to the Kandy Museum. Among the peasant Sinhalese of Nilgala we heard of a lacquered arrow—said to have been lost recently—which, according to tradition, had been presented many generations ago to the Vedda ancestors of its last owner by one of the kings of Ceylon. With regard to the specimen in the Kandy Museum, the arrow is feathered in the usual Vedda style, the condition of the lacquer on it shows that it is of considerable age. The iron which is said to belong to it is loose, and it is entirely unlike any arrow head we have seen. Instead of having a tang it has a socket into which the end of the shaft must have fitted, and there is a shoulder or "stop" upon the iron. The bow shown us as having been acquired with the arrow was in much better condition and had a small band of silver or some metal resembling silver round it. According to the account given at the museum both specimens were procured from a priest who gave a history of the specimens which does not connect them with any Veddas[2].

224 177 Traps and snares are unknown among the least sophisticated Veddas, but at Danigala we saw a small deadfall trap avowedly introduced.

## HONEY.

222 The importance of honey in the Vedda diet has been mentioned in Chapter IV as well as the large part it plays in barter. The honey of the *bambara* (*Apis indica*) is taken in June and July, though at other times of the year small combs are taken

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[1] There is in the Colombo Museum a beautifully lacquered weaver's shuttle, presented to certain cloth makers by one of the Sinhalese kings.

[2] It was stated that the bow and arrow had been found in the verandah of a disused house with some broken articles said to have been thrown there, having been taken from the walauwa (house) of Molligoda Adigar. The house was in the Kegalle district. The villagers gave the bow and arrow to a priest who brought them to the museum.

Plate LXIII

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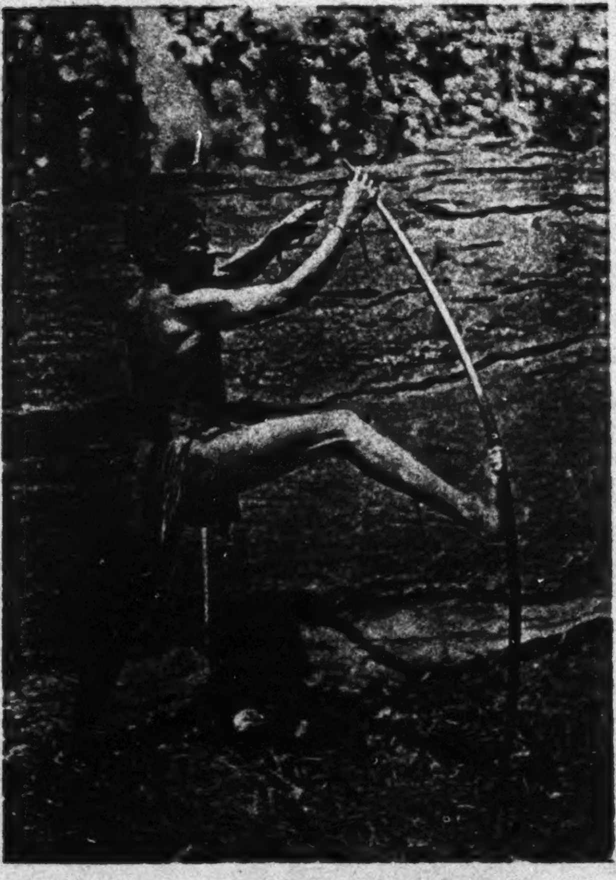

Handúna of Henebedda stringing his bow

[facing p. 326a]

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Plate LXIV

Handuna shooting

[facing p. 326 b]

from trees. Besides the *bambara* other species including the 222
small stingless bee supply a considerable quantity. The first
two months of our sojourn in the Vedda country (January
and February) was at a time when honey was particularly
scarce, and even at the end of March and in April it was
not abundant, yet such was the courtesy of the Veddas that
each community managed to make us a small present of
honey, though this often entailed a long search and the combs
were frequently full of grubs. In two communities only, which
were better off than the others, namely Danigala and Kulukalaeba,
were we given large pots of strained honey, the remains
of the previous year's store.

The manner in which *bambara* colonies are regarded as 262
property has been discussed in Chapter V. Writing in 1886 251
Nevill says, "Honey forms a great part of their diet. It is
eaten fresh in large quantities, wax and all; combs with young
bees in them being considered especially wholesome. It was
also the practice formerly to store strips of dried meat in honey,
filling in a cavity of some tree with it, the cavity being first
lined with clay. At present they barter away their surplus 437
meat and honey, during the hunting season, and keep no store
for the rainy season. This often brings privation and is one
cause of the rapid decrease in their numbers.

"They tell me their health is never so good as when their 262
food largely consists of yams and honey.

"To procure honey they rapidly cut open hollow trees, even 222
of the hardest wood; and to take the hives of the large black
bambara bee, they make long ladders of cane, called 'rang 417
kendiya,' by which they descend precipices, and cut off the
combs adhering to their sides.

"They do this at night, generally, as the bees are not so
savage then; and smoke them with a sort of resin. The hives
are often cut off with a sort of wooden sword, made for the 413
occasion. These frail ladders swing fearfully, and the task is
so dangerous, only the boldest and most athletic attempt it.
While engaged on the task they sing lustily, songs specially 222
made, which appease the spirit of the rock, and prevent him 533
from dashing the hunter off the ladder. They also go about

222 533 the work with songs, so as to get up a certain degree of excitement, necessary to carry them through the task. A song is chanted, and a little honey sprinkled for the spirits, before the combs are cut off the rock[1]."

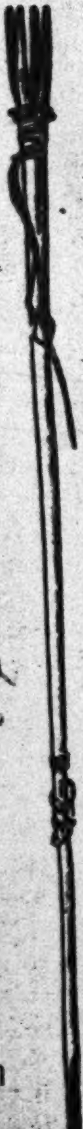

Fig. 12.
*Masliya* x 1/10.

222 413 415 Before honey collecting as many pots as possible are made and old pots and gourds are overhauled. The wooden sword which Nevill mentions is probably the *masliya* (fig. 12). This is a stout stick about 2¼ metres long with four prongs at one end, which the Vedda carries hanging by a loop from his forearm and which he uses to detach the comb and convey it into the vessel called a *maludema* in which the honey is collected. This is also carried hanging from the forearm and should be made of deer's hide so that it may not be broken against the rocks as the honey collector swings to and fro. Plate LXV shows a *maludema* collected at Sitala Wanniya. An arrow is also carried and is largely used in detaching the combs from the rock.

222 476 Before taking the honey a bundle of green leaves is set alight and lowered in order to stupefy the bees. The smoker is called *odiya* (Sin. *hula*) and the creeper attached to it *yotuvella*[2]. Several men of the community join together to collect rock-honey, the whole spoil being equally divided without any special consideration for the owner of the land, though it seemed that the owner would decide when the honey should be collected. The women accompany their men to crags and gulleys where the *bambara* build their combs. They hold torches and sing while the honey is being collected.

231 Plate LXVI shows a gourd, used as a hive for a colony of the stingless bee, hanging outside one

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 190.

[2] For the use of these see Chapter IV where the pantomime of honey getting is described.

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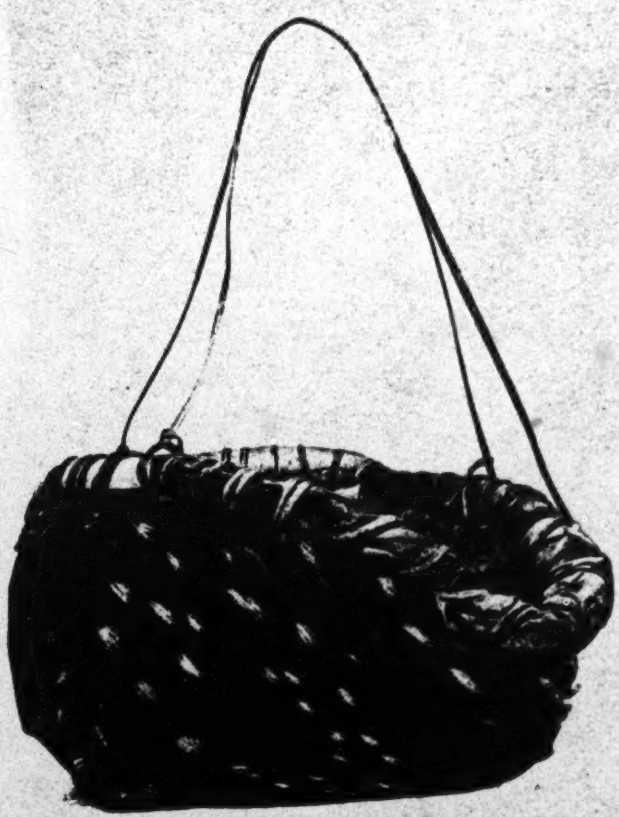
Plate LXV



Deerskin vessel (*maludema*) used for collecting honey

[facing p. 328a]

Plate LXVI

Gourd used as bee hive (Henebedda)

[facing p. 328b]

of the huts in the Moranse chena settlement at Henebedda. 231
It was shown us with pride by Handuna who said he was
keeping it for his twelve year old son. He told us that in the
old days the hollow branches, the homes of colonies of these
bees, were frequently kept in the rock-shelters.

The ladder with the help of which *hambara* honey is collected 222
consists of a greatly elongated loop of cane, apparently derived 417
from a species of *Calamus*, across which rungs of creeper are
stretched. In Plate LV (p. 290) there can be seen the bottom
of the ladder some fifty feet long, used for training the young,
hung from the top of the cliff across the face of the rock mass
at Sitala Wanniya. In spite of the fact that honey is usually 821
gathered at night the Veddas do not travel or hunt at night [484]
and know only two stars by name. One of these is a star or
more probably a planet which often appears close to the moon
and is called *pantaru* which, we were told, is the name by which
the Sinhalese know it. The other named star appears soon
after sunset, always in the same place and before the other stars,
and is almost certainly Venus; this is called *irabada taruva*,
i.e. "side of sun star." Although the Veddas hunt in the dusk 621
of the dawn the idea that anyone would roam about at night 522
seemed absolutely ludicrous to them (Sitala Wanniya), they
roared with laughter at it, "why should one go into the jungle?
it would be too dark to see to shoot, besides bears are about,
absurd idea," they laughed again, in fact it was quite ten minutes
before Kaira had forgotten the joke.

## MASTICATORIES.

All Veddas chew eagerly, but as they can rarely obtain a 261
supply of areca nuts they commonly use instead of these the 276
bark of the *demata* tree (*Gmelina asiatica*) and the *dawata* tree
(*Carallia integerrima*). Concerning the other plants that they
use as masticatories Nevill says, "They occasionally chew the
leaves of several aromatic herbs, particularly *Anisochilus suffruticosus*, a sort of sage that grows on rocks. The areca does
not grow wild in the Eastern Province, but Veddas are very
fond of the seeds of the lakada bush, *Gardenia carinata*, a

Plate LXVII

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Betel pouch made of monkey skin (Henebedda)

[facing p. 330]

261 276 beautiful species of Gardenia with fragant flowers and crimped laurel-like leaves. These seeds or nuts are astringent and to me resemble exactly in taste those of the areca palm. They are only an occasional luxury however. The bark which he chews is almost a necessity to a Vedda, the leaves or seeds a mere luxury[1]."

325 276 It is not always that the Veddas can obtain lime, which they make by burning the shells of a land snail *mentaiake* (*Cyclophorus involvulus*). The shells are laid on red hot pieces of charcoal, more glowing embers are heaped around and upon them, and the whole is fanned with a tuft of green leaves for a few minutes, when the embers surrounding the shells are raked away and the shells allowed to cool before being crushed and dropped into the vessel in which the lime is carried. This is 415 often a tin match box or it may be a brass covered cartridge case. Specially made lime spatulas do not exist, but one Vedda of Henebedda had a long broad nail with which he removed the lime from his tin match box.

276 415 The betel pouch is usually a roughly sewn bag of trade cloth, but the Henebedda Veddas also make pouches of monkey skin, one of which is shown in Plate LXVII. We omitted to inquire how the hair was removed, but probably it was singed off, the whole skin being subsequently scraped.

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[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 191.

# CHAPTER XII

## COAST VEDDAS

THE Coast Veddas or Verdas occupy a number of settlements 101
in the Tamil zone on the east coast. They exceed in number 144
both the Village Veddas of Bintenne and their wilder neighbours 361
of the borders of Uva and the Eastern Province; this is no
doubt due to the fact that in the majority of Coast Veddas there
is a large admixture of Tamil blood, and the comparatively
thriving condition of their settlements must be attributed to the
same cause. The date of their first arrival on the coast and of 173
their subsequent intermarriage with the Tamils is quite uncertain; 101
the latter state that there have always been Veddas in the
neighbourhood of the sites they now occupy, but the Veddas
themselves have a tradition that they come from inland. Knox
does not mention them, but Nevill considers that they come
from Sabaragamuwa (Sufferagam), being driven thence in the
17th century.

"The Vaeddas say that they never were related to these Coast Vaeddas, and do not know when they came to the Coast, or where they came from, nor did they ever hear that they belonged to any waruge of the race.

"The Coast Vaeddas do not know when they came or how they came, but they say that long ago their ancestors came from the Gala, far beyond the hills to the west. They also sometimes say they came from Kukulu-gammaeda and spread out along the Coast. Some say this is Kukulugam near the Verukal; others suppose it to be somewhere far away[1]."

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[1] Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 183.

101 We found that the Coast Veddas spoke of themselves as
173 Verdas and said that long ago their fathers came from inland.
191 They all speak Tamil, but some assert that they still know, and
at times use among themselves, their old Vedda language, but
when we asked the men who made this statement to speak in
their ancestral dialect they spoke Sinhalese[1]. Besides this a few
of the older men know the names of some of the Vedda waruge,
while others are able to trace their descent to them.

The Coast Vedda is darker, taller and more stoutly built
142 than the true Veddas. In fact they generally resemble low
caste Tamils, yet in almost every settlement there are one or
two men shorter than their comrades and presenting an almost
typical Vedda caste of countenance. The women are all much
291 bigger than true Vedda women and would pass for Tamils, after
whose fashion they dress.

Plate LXVIII, figs. 1 and 2, represent Verdas from settlements
to the north of Kalkudah.

The Verdas build comfortable huts in small clearings, usually
241 within a mile of the sea; they cultivate maize and pumpkins
342 and other easily grown crops round their houses and in patches
of clearing in the surrounding jungle.

They have plenty of pots and baskets and also possess drums
415 and fishing gear, so that their mode of life differs but little from
534 that of the poor and low caste Tamils who are their neighbours.
621 One, two, or more rarely, three houses stand in each clearing, and
it seems that the people living in each clearing are closely related
by blood or connected by marriage.

The chief Verda settlements north of Batticaloa are Pallanchenai
361 near Kalkudah 20 miles from Batticaloa and at Varkanari
505 some 10 miles north of Kalkudah on the far side of the river
which is crossed by a ferry at Valarchchenai. At Panichchenkeni
some 14 miles farther north is another ferry, where the local
Verdas act as ferrymen, while there are two other Verda settlements
some three miles beyond the ferry at sites called Vellaiadi
and Kandaladi respectively.

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[1] Nevill (loc. cit.) noticed the same state of affairs, he said "Only the old men speak what they call Vaedda, which is pure but quaint Sinhalese with a Vaedda accent, as a rule, though mixed with some words characteristic of true Vaedda."

Plate LXVIII

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Fig. 1. Coast Veddas.

[534
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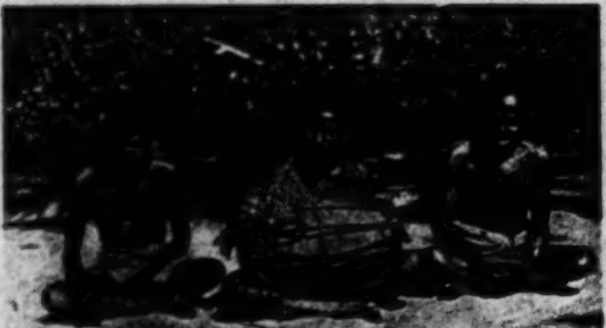

Fig. 2. Coast Veddas of Vakarai

[facing p. 332-a]

Plate LXIX

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Fig. 1. Settlement of Coast Veddas

[417]

Fig. 2. Settlement of Coast Veddas

[facing p. 332b]

There are a few Verdas at Panichchenkeni, while near Vakarai still further to the north there is a Verda settlement of considerable size. Some eight miles beyond this are two Verda settlements Parchenai and Nargantonai situated close together. We heard of other smaller settlements of Coast Veddas in the neighbourhood of Batticaloa, but these were not visited as time was short and it appeared that those Verdas we did not see differed in no respect from those we met. We were told that formerly there were Coast Veddas south of Batticaloa and we later discovered that there were, and still are, certain shrines or temples within a few miles of the coast (e.g. at Mandur), which were generally recognised as Vedda shrines at which Veddas especially worshipped. This matter has been alluded to in Chapter VIII, and here it is only necessary to point out that the religion of the Coast Veddas is strongly tinged with Tamil customs and beliefs; indeed, many Verdas had Hindu sect marks upon their foreheads. 361 778

Some, but not all, of the Coast Veddas know the names of the *waruge* to which they belong, and a few also know the names of some of the more important *waruge* of the Veddas inland. Uru *waruge* appears to be the *waruge* to which most of the Coast Veddas who remembered their ancestral *waruge* belonged, but a few men stated that they belonged to Ogatam, Kavatam, Umata or Umatam, Aembalaneduwe and Aembale *waruge*; the last named and the one before it probably being the same as the Aembela *waruge* found inland. Some of the Coast Veddas whom we questioned said they had heard of, and still knew of certain of the old Vedda *waruge*, and such men were generally able to mention Morane *waruge* while fewer also knew of Unapane *waruge*. 614

The Coast Veddas have become expert fishermen and make and use various forms of nets including a cast net. They also spear and shoot fish, using a bifid iron spear-head which they have adopted from the Tamils. For shooting fish they use the usual Vedda bow, but the arrow has become a harpoon with a shaft as long as the bow into which the iron with its running line fits loosely. One of the nets used by the Coast Veddas is seen drying behind the house in the background of Plate LXIX, 226 227 411 227

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[235]

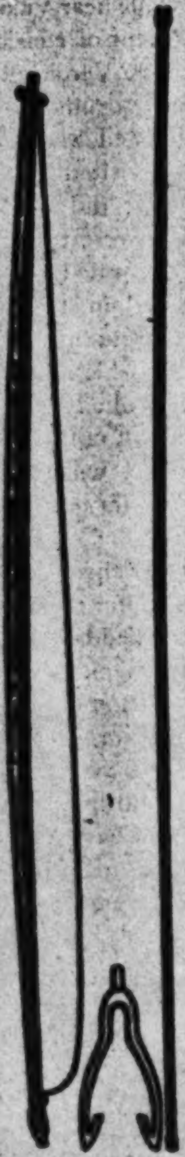
fig. 2, while Mr Storey's book contains an excellent photograph of these people spearing fish[1].

The length of the Verda bow and harpoon shaft shown in fig. 13 are 208 cm. and 220 cm. respectively. The bow is an extremely powerful weapon, its diameter at its thickest part being about 3·3 cm.

In spite of the perfectly obvious fact that the majority of the Verdas are more Tamil than Vedda the old Vedda pride of blood survives and some of the older Verdas denied that they intermarried with Tamils.

Children of marriages in which the *waruge* of the contracting parties were known took their father's *waruge*, but it seemed to be a matter of no account whether or no individuals of the same *waruge* intermarried.

Everyone avoids eating fowl and all our informants both male and female denied that they ever ate it, though often suggesting that others might do so. On the other hand, one informant who bred fowls for sale summed the matter up with an emphatic "Veddas don't eat fowls." No reason was given for this abstinence but all agreed that their ancestors had not eaten fowl, though the majority of our informants admitted that they would breed fowls for sale and kill and prepare fowls for others to eat. Beef was said to be generally avoided though it was not



[113]

Fig. 13. Verda bow and harpoon × $\frac{1}{15}$. Iron harpoon head × $\frac{1}{2}$.

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[1] *Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*, London, 1907, p. 250.

clear what opportunities existed for obtaining it. Deer and pig 262 would be killed and eaten, and snakes were said to be killed without a scruple though one informant denied that he would kill a cobra.

Time did not allow of any systematic study of the religion of 771 the Verdas, but it was clear that this had been much affected by 177 Tamil influence while yet retaining some of the more obvious outward features of the Vedda cult of the dead. Unfortunately we had no opportunity of ascertaining definitely whether the Verdas have also retained the essence of the Vedda cult, i.e. the belief in the loving-kindness and the guiding influence of the spirits of their dead, though since the leader of the dance seen at Vakarai showed the classical signs of "possession," there seems to be every reason to hold this belief at least provisionally. 575 The dance we saw rehearsed at Vakarai was said to be performed 796 for sickness and in thanksgiving when a good harvest had been gathered. The dance took place at night, the men dancing in relays till daylight, the women squatting on the ground, but taking no part. No food is taken during the dance, but some is placed upon the "altar" *kudaram* (lit. cage or small shed, *T*) which is eaten by all in the morning.

The temple seen at Pellanchenai, of which a rough plan is 346 given in fig. 14, was a building some 12 feet long by about 10 broad; it faced east and the roof was carried forward for a few feet beyond the front wall in which was a door. A stout pole (marked *P*), thought to be some 30 feet long and consisting of a young tree with the bark removed, stood in front of the temple about 30 feet from the entrance. To the north of the pole and about 8 feet from it was a hole in the ground *F*, really a small well containing water, while to the south of the pole and at a distance of about 12 feet from it there was a young tree before which a small platform *T* (*kudaram*) was built, on which a rough stone rested. Some distance beyond the pole and somewhat to the south of it stood a tree *H*, apparently quite dead, with a fringe of dried leaves and small twigs round its trunk, before which were the remains of a *kudaram*; to the south-west of the pole and roughly in the position of *Y* in the plan, a limb of a tree was planted in the soil. The branches

346 springing from the upper end of this limb had been removed with the exception of three which were left to support between them a rough earthenware pot. The remains of a *kudaram* also existed somewhat to the south-east of the doorway about the spot marked *X* on the plan. The post supporting the weight of that portion of the roof extending beyond the door had tied round it a fringe of dried shredded coconut leaves. Within the temple stood a *kudaram* (marked *K*) behind which in one corner of the temple was a model of a sailing boat about two feet long partly square-rigged and clearly meant to imitate a European ship. The temple was for the worship of Kapalpei, Ammal and

778
776

[346]

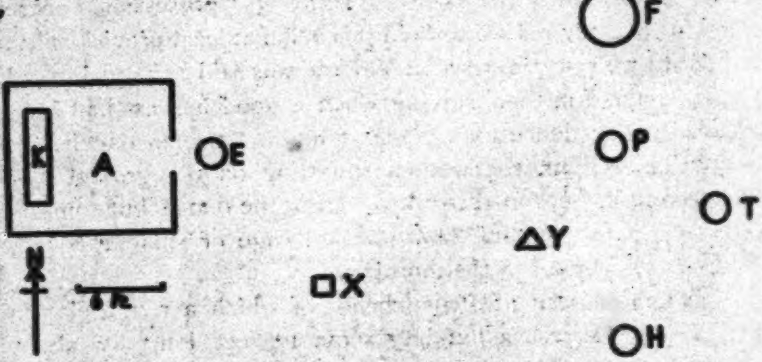

Fig. 14. Plan of Vedda temple and its surroundings.

Komara Devam. The name Kapalpei means ship-demon. We could only discover that he is regarded as the most powerful of the beings worshipped and that he is a foreigner who reached the country in a ship. Ammal is a Tamil Goddess who sends smallpox and skin disease[1].

776 We could at the time discover nothing concerning Komara Devam, though doubtless he is the same as Kumara Deva, an immigrant deity, whose characteristic weapon is a silver sword, who was one of the chief spirits invoked to remove sickness by

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[1] Mr A. Barr Kumarakulasinghe tells me that there are temples to this Goddes at Jaffna, but that there are none in Batticaloa though possibly there may be some in the neighbourhood.

the inhabitants of Gongolla a primitive jungle village some 20 776
miles from the coast in the Eastern Province[1].

When the dance, of which we saw a partial rehearsal, is 535
about to take place the inside of the temple is decorated with 755
cloths and the green branches of trees including coconut leaves, and the model of the boat which commemorates the arrival of Kapalpei is hoisted to the top of the tall pole standing outside the temple. If the dance is undertaken in order to cure a sick man, milk is placed in the pot which is supported on the rough stand (fig. *Y*) mentioned above. The sick individual, and probably the dancers, are fed from this and at the end of the night's dance the last portion is thrown out into the jungle for Kapalpe.

The dancers should wear a petticoat made of strips of coco- [292]
nut leaves and green leafy twigs of other trees, and it was stated that the ministrant wore these just as did the other dancers. After the dance a number of these ceremonial garments are preserved in the temple where they are allowed to dry. Rice [782]
plantain and chewing material are piled on the *kudarum* during the ceremony and camphor is burnt. Kapalpe sees the food provided and the honour done him and is propitiated.

The stone *pilliyar* has been frankly adopted from the Tamils 777
though Mr Kumarakulasinghe pointed out that no sacred Tamil 778
stone was so rough[2]; further, according to the same informant Tamils do not dance round either *pilliyar* or *kudarum*.

At Kalkudah it was said that there was a special "priest" or 793
ministrant whom we did not see. We gathered that in some way he officiated in connection with the land cultivated by the community and he perhaps corresponded to the Sinhalese *gamarala*.

Some idea of the actual character of the ceremony and of the 535
nature of the *kudarum* and pole can be derived from the dance 796
rehearsed for our benefit at Vakarai. Plate LXX, fig. 1

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[1] Cf. Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

[2] This may be true of the Tamils of the east coast, but we have seen some shrines containing equally rough stones set up by Tamil coolies on plantations. Worship may be performed at such shrines, offerings of rice and chewing materials being made at them and afterwards eaten.

535 796 shows the site selected for the dance and the arrangements made. The dancing ground consisted of one of those sandy spaces surrounded by a growth of scrub and low trees which are so common on the east coast. A *kudaram*, the upper part of which was covered with leaves, had been prepared, the top of this was depressed so as to present a sort of tray upon which a white cloth was laid; within the tray were laid flowers, which in this case did duty for the food offered in the ceremony. No model of a ship was hoisted to the top of the pole, which was encircled by wreaths of small leafy bunches at heights of about 6 to 12 feet from the ground.

There were five dancers, each of whom held a bunch of leafy twigs in each hand, which when the dance began were held against the body just below the umbilicus.

The leader of the dance was an old man who held a piece of
535 cloth instead of a bunch of leaves. Behind each dancer stood
796 a man who supported him by clapping his hands round the
787 dancer's body below the latter's hands, i.e. over the hypogastric and epipubic region. At first the dancers faced the *kudaram*, their hands being held low against their thighs, but soon they began to move round the altar in single file (Plate LXX, fig. 2). As they danced they began to quiver, the rippling motion of their muscles from the knees upwards becoming progressively more violent, until as the dancers moved round the altar the majority of their superficial muscles all over the body were twitching irregularly. As the dance became quicker the dancers feigned exhaustion, leaning or falling back into the arms of their supporters, but this did not last long and dancing was not interrupted; soon the men left the altar and danced round the pole, the irregular quivering of their muscles being very striking. At times they shouted and raised the bunches of leaves which they held in their hands above their heads. They continued to dance round the altar and round the pole alternately; as they danced round the pole their movements became more violent, the men supporting the dancers let go and the latter now danced and leapt round the pole and beat the leaves tied to it with the leaves they held in their hands. As the vigour of their movements lessened, their supporters, who had been following their

Plate LXX

535
796
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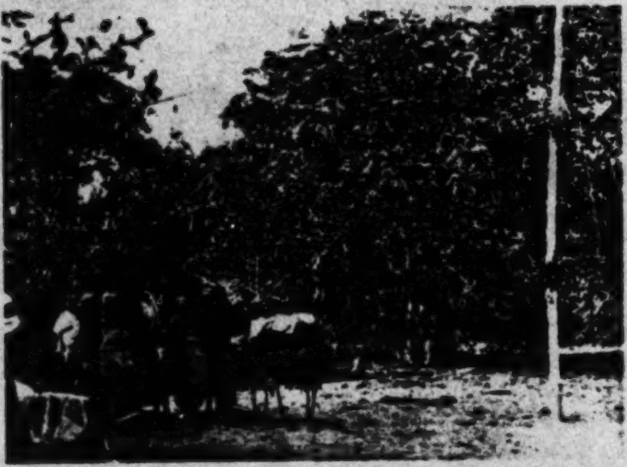


Fig. 1. Site of dance at Vakarai, showing *kudaram* and pole

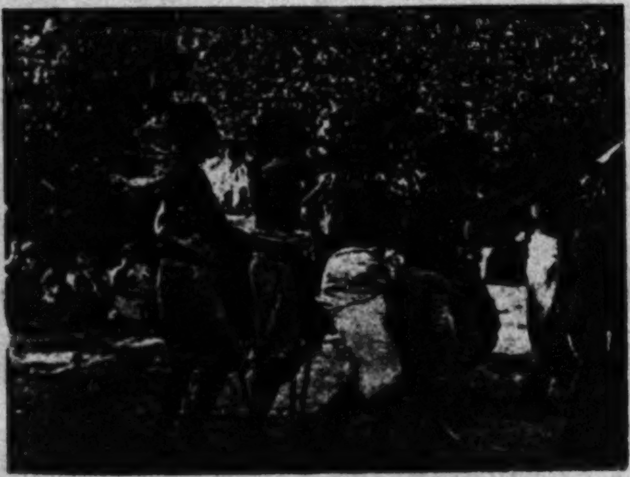
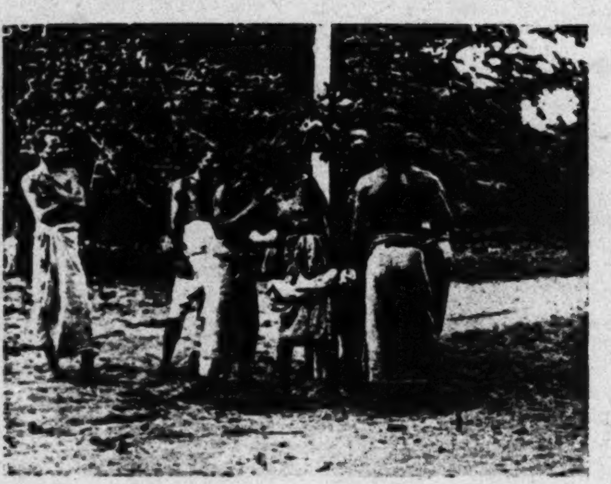


Fig. 2. Dancing round the *kudaram*

[facing p. 338a]

Plate LXXI

535
796
291



The end of the dance at Vakarai

[facing p. 338 b]

motions, once more put their arms round them, soon after which the dancers fell limply into their arms. The leader of the dance seemed especially excited at this stage and, trembling and quivering all over, stood back to the pole and wildly waved his scarf in the air. Soon his movements became less vigorous, his head nodded on his shoulders and hung down on his chest as he addressed the other dancers in a harsh and broken voice (Plate LXXI). In view of the Vedda ceremonies which we subsequently saw we have no doubt that he prophesied good fortune. It appeared to us that this old man really presented the ordinary characteristics of Vedda "possession," i.e. the dance, though only a rehearsal, had produced the customary effects associated with it, and certainly this old man's muscles continued to quiver irregularly for some time after the dance was over. As for the remaining dancers we have no doubt that the dance remained for them as it had begun, simply a rehearsal and an amusing piece of acting. 535 796 787

Such dances are held only to cure sickness or in return for good crops, and it was emphatically denied that anything similar took place after childbirth or death. 535 796

Very little was elicited concerning death and mourning ceremonies. The corpse is washed, and it seemed that although this is usually done by a barber or *dhobis* (professional washerman) it might be done by one or more of the relatives of the dead man. The grave must be at some distance from the habitations of the living and also from their cultivation patches. No fire is lit on the grave. A feast is held a few days after burial, which appears to be called *bati bane*, and the food for this, especially rice, is provided by the near relatives of the dead man and distributed. A *kudaram* is built upon which the food is placed for "a short time" as an offering to Kapalpei, after which it is eaten by the assembled people. 764

This account agrees with that given by the Sarasins, who record that a coast Vedda, Pereman, when asked about his religion "laughed and said they had that of the Tamils, they honoured their dead by cooking rice in front of their house, folding their hands, saying a few words and then eating the rice. As they did this they spoke the name of the deceased and said: 'Help 769 177

769 us in danger, sickness etc.' When we enquired whether their
177 dead lived on as spirits he replied, they did not consider whether the departed were living or dead, they were just spirits, in Tamil
775 *sami* or *dewi*, in Sinhalese *yako*; all spirits were alike, neither good nor bad. Another coast Vedda named Patiniya told us that their religion was that of the Tamils. In memory of their dead, whom they called *yako*, they cooked rice and ate it; they invoked the *yaka* in sickness, etc.[1]"

761 Just as Kapalpei sent sickness, so death was also attributed
753 to him, but perhaps not epidemics, for it appeared to be generally considered that a single death would satisfy him for the time, so
776 that it would be days or weeks before he would be expected to send sickness or death again.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 498.

# CHAPTER XIII

## MUSIC

BY C. S. MYERS.

### INTRODUCTORY.

THE account of Vedda music given in this section is based upon an examination of thirty-four phonographic records of songs obtained from the Veddas by Dr and Mrs Seligmann[1].

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[126]

These songs are probably simpler in structure than any other native songs hitherto studied.

Nine of the tunes are composed of only two notes. In three others the tune consists also of two notes, but with the addition of one or more unimportant grace-notes. These twelve songs may be conveniently classed as belonging to Group A.

Twelve other songs consist of three notes only. These we shall class under Group B.

Nine songs contain four notes, and one consists of five notes. These we shall consider as Group C.

Of the songs in Group A, in no case is the range sensibly greater than our whole-tone interval. With the exception of two anomalous songs, no song in Group B has a range sensibly greater than our minor third. With one exception, no song in Group C has a range greater than a fourth.

There is evidence that the songs of Group A are more archaic than those of Groups B and C. For, unaware of the above system of classification, Dr Seligmann was asked to indicate those songs which appeared to him (on grounds of language, ceremonial, etc.) most probably archaic and those

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[1 We received the manuscript of this chapter from Dr Myers in November 1909, but owing to our absence from England, publication was deferred for six months. Meanwhile, in the *Quarterly Magazine of the International Musical Society* (Year xi, Part 2, 1910) there appeared a short account of Vedda music by Herr Max Wertheimer, based on an examination of four phonographic records obtained by Frau M. Selenka. Dr Myers has thus had no opportunity of alluding to Herr Wertheimer's observations in this chapter.]

[114

[113]

[p. 341]

which were likely to be modern or foreign. Of the ten songs which he considered to be probably archaic, four belong to Group A, four to Group B, and only two to Group C; while of those in which he suspected modern, or foreign influence, only one belongs to Group A, five to Group B, and five to Group C. None of the Sinhalese songs collected by Dr Seligmann belongs to Group A.

In this connection it is also noteworthy that the Sitala Wanniya Veddas are considered by Dr Seligmann to have been less exposed to outside influence than other Veddas, and that of the three songs sung by them belonging to Group C two are believed by him to be late or foreign. There are altogether eight songs of the Sitala Wanniya Veddas, in only two of which is an interval sung sensibly greater than a whole-tone.

While the Sitala Wanniya Veddas may be considered the most primitive, the Veddas of Dambani and Bulugahaladena are semi-civilised, having absorbed much Sinhalese culture, and the Bandaraduwa Veddas are also much affected by the Sinhalese, with whom they are now living. The Henebedda Veddas have only lately begun to be affected by the Sinhalese.

Not only is Vedda music primitive because the notes of each song are so few and the range so small, but also because the natives are ignorant of any other than vocal music. Dr Seligmann writes that the "uncontaminated Veddas," e.g. those of Sitala Wanniya, have no musical instruments whatever. Others, however, e.g. those of Henebedda, although they had no drums at the time of his visit, borrowed them, when opportunity offered, from the Sinhalese, especially for songs belonging to the *kolamaduwa* ceremony. The two oldest Vedda ceremonies, namely, the dancing round an arrow in order to get game (p. 213), and the *kirikoraha* ceremony in which the dance is round an offering of coconut milk (p. 218), were accompanied by the rhythmic slapping of the hands on the abdomen and thighs. At Bandaraduwa, the Veddas were found to possess drums of Sinhalese pattern and make.

The songs of the Veddas may be divided according to their purpose into two main classes, the one consisting of charms and invocations, the other of lullabies and songs sung for amusement. Dr Seligmann observes that among all Veddas th invocation songs are accompanied by dance movement, and that the purpose of such song and dance is to produce possession by the *yaku* or spirits. 533

## METHODS OF ANALYSIS.

126

The speed of the phonograph used for studying the records of these songs was so regulated that every record reproduced a tone $c' = 256$ vibrations per second, a tone of this pitch, emitted by a pitch-pipe, having been always sounded into the recording phonograph just before each record was taken by Dr Seligmann in the field. Consequently when the reproducing phonograph emitted the note, one was sure that the speed of this instrument agreed with that of the instrument into which the song had been sung. That is to say, the reproducing phonograph reproduced the exact tempo and pitch of the recorded song.

A rough notation was then made of the song, a metronome being employed to determine its approximate tempo.

Finally a more accurate determination of the pitch of the various tones was made by means of an Appunn's Tonmesser, an instrument consisting of a box of carefully-attuned metal tongues, any one of which could be sounded at will by means of a bellows worked by the feet. The particular instrument employed contained 65 tongues, the pitch of each tongue differing by two vibrations per second from its neighbour and the extreme range being an octave, from $c^{0}$ to $c'$, i.e. from 128 to 256 vibrations per second[1].

The songs are transcribed as accurately as our European notation allows. Bars are only inserted when the regularity of the rhythm clearly permitted their use. A + or – above a note indicates that it should be somewhat sharpened or flattened. Greater precision may be obtained by observing the numbers written beneath the notes. These give the mean vibration-frequency of the tone in question, obtained by comparison with the standard Tonmesser. The sign V indicates a "breath mark," i.e. a short rest during which the singer draws a breath.

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[1] For further details in manipulation, the reader is referred to the writer's Essay on "The Ethnological Study of Music," in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 235—254.

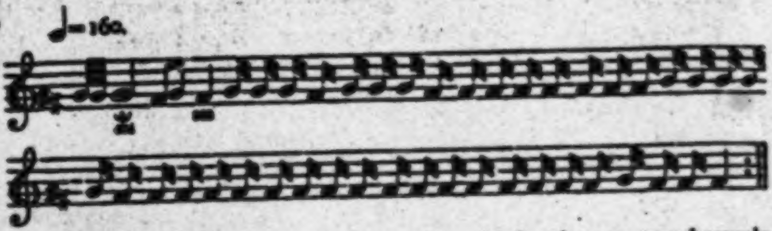
1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

## NOTATION OF THE RECORDS.

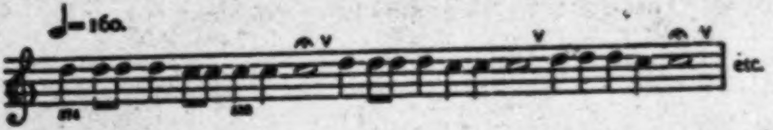
### GROUP A.

No. 40. Invocation to the *Nae Yaku* sung by Kuma of Dambani.

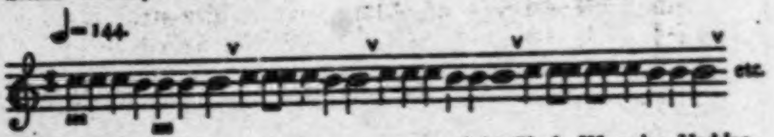
533



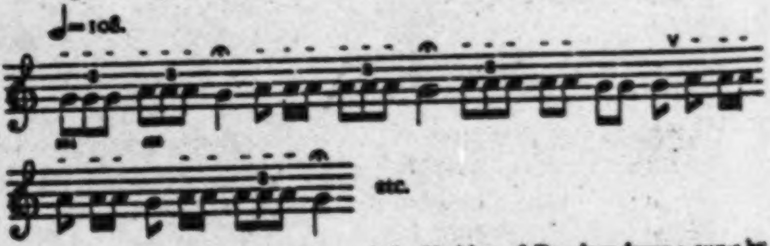
No. 22 A. Commemorating women whose husbands were treacherously killed while collecting honey; sung by Hudumenike of Bandaraduwa.



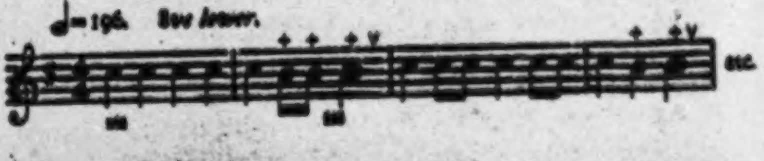
No. 21. Sung by women to men returning without honey; song of Sitala Wanniya Veddas.



No. 38. Sung while taking honey; song of the Sitala Wanniya Veddas.



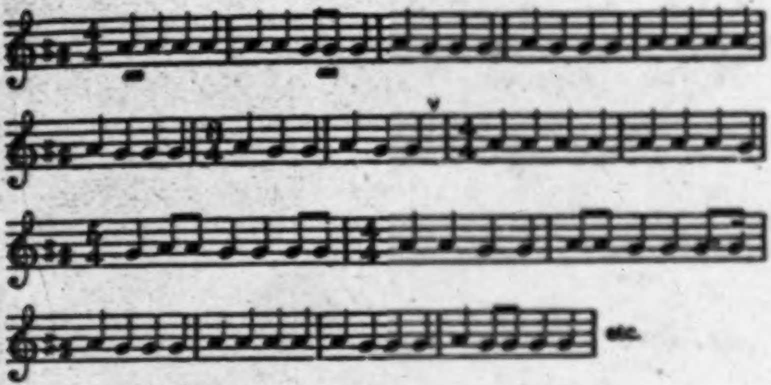
No. 11 (2). Amusement Song of the Veddas of Bandaraduwa; sung by Tissahami, the "Vedda Arachi."



533

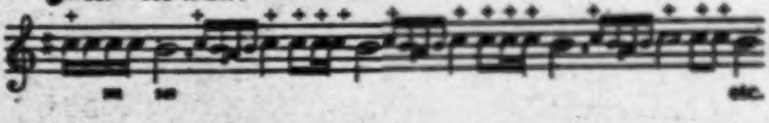
No. 18 (2). Song of the Bandaraduwa Veddas when driving monkeys.

♩=104.



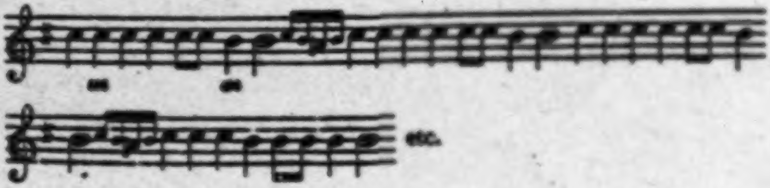
No. 1 (1). Invocation at the *kirikoraha* ceremony of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas; sung by the "Vedda Arachi."

♩=80. 8va *lower*.



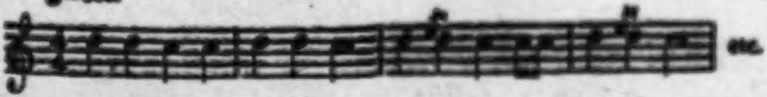
No. 1 (2). Invocation at the *kirikoraha* ceremony of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas; sung by the "Vedda Arachi."

♩=176.



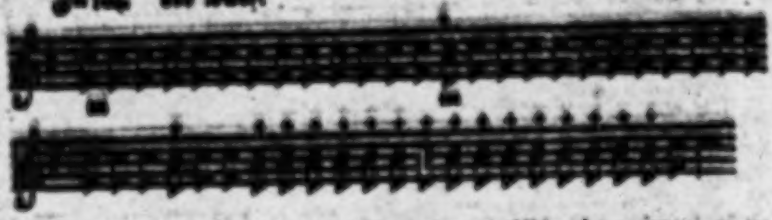
No. 19. Lullaby; sung by Hudumenika of Bandaraduwa.

♩=208.



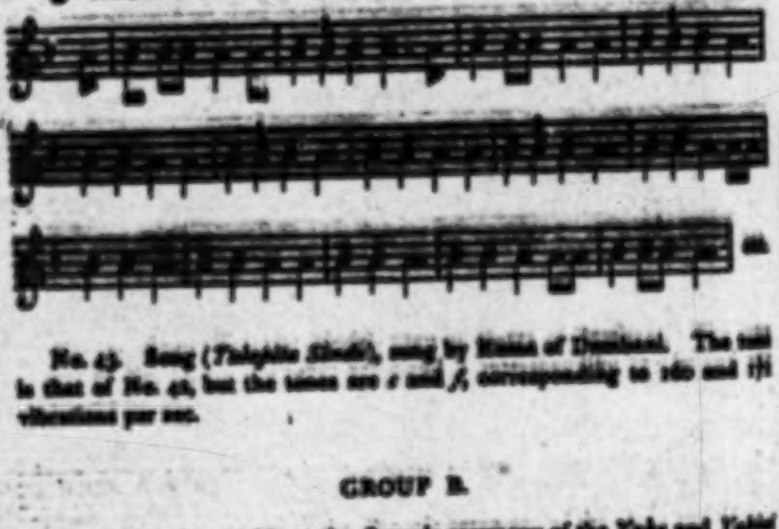
No. 32. Invocation sung during ceremony to exorcise Yaka from the sick.

♩= 104. 8ve lower.



No. 42. Song (Tandina etc.), sung by the Vidane (headman) of the Dambani Veddas.

♩= 108. 8ve lower.

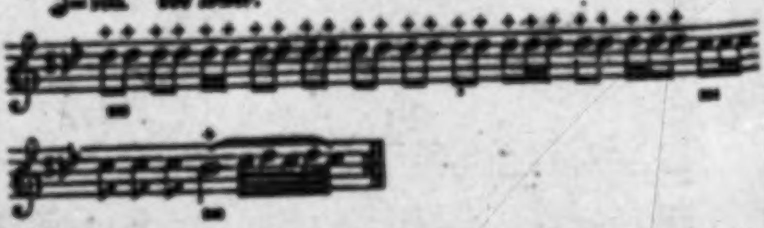


No. 43. Song (Talapita Sinde), sung by Handa of Dambani. The scale is that of No. 42, but the tones are e and f, corresponding to 160 and 171 vibrations per sec.

## GROUP B.

No. 50 (1). Invocation at the Kirimadu ceremony of the Yaka and Yakini of Wallimbagala.

♩= 100. 8ve lower.



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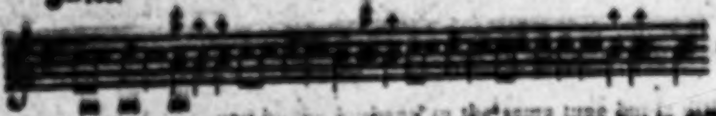
No. 30. Song; the first part sung by Tandi, wife of Handuna of Sitala Wanniya.

♩= 132.

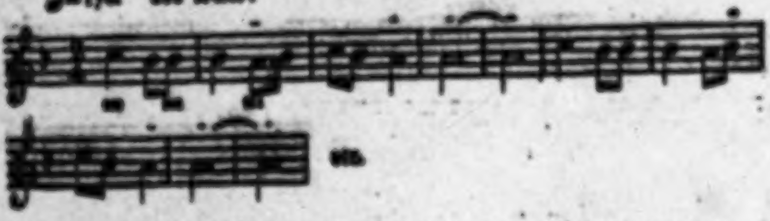


etc.

The second part sung by the husband to the same tune but in different pitch f=f♯3.

No. 31. Amusement Song; sung by Sita Wanniya of Henebedda.

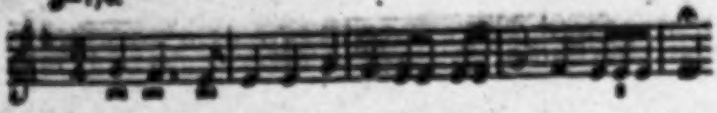
♩= 176. See *Errata*.



etc.

No. 29. Song asking for gifts; sung by a woman of Bandaraduwa.

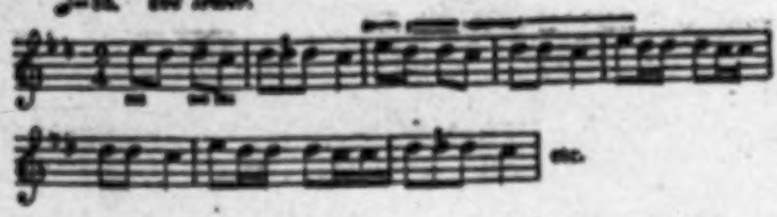
♩= 176.



etc.

No. 31 A. Dance Song; sung by Sita Wanniya of Henebedda.

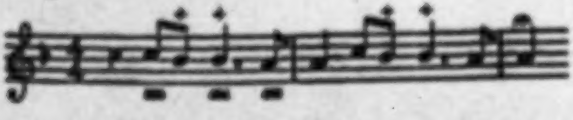
♩= 88. See *Errata*.



etc.

No. 34 (2). Lullaby; sung by Tandi, wife of Handuna of Sitala Wanniya.

♩= 120.



etc.

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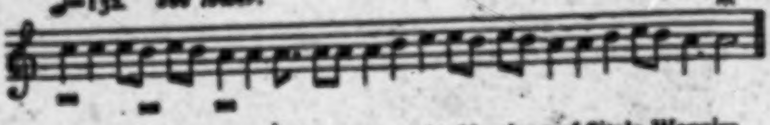
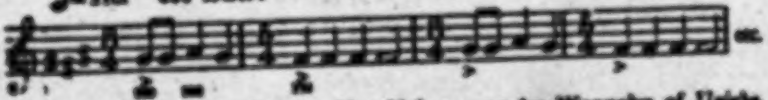
No. 27. Invocation of the Mahayakino at the *Kolamaduwa* ceremony; sung by Handuna of Henbedda.

♩=132. 8ve lower.



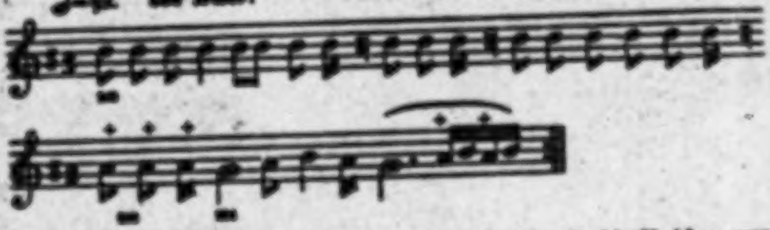
No. 36 (2). Amusement Song; sung by Handuna of Sitala Wanniya.

♩=210. 8ve lower.



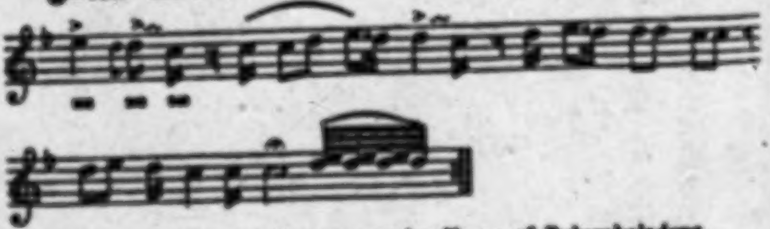
No. 29. Invocation to the *Nae Yaku*; sung by Wannaku of Unicha.

♩=92. 8ve lower.



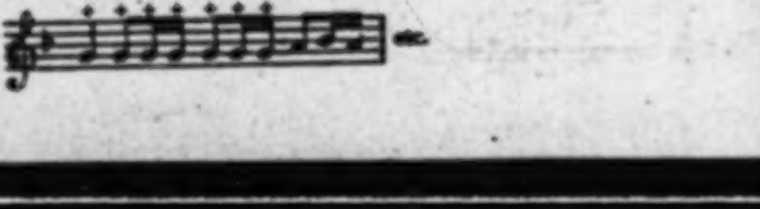
No. 2. *Maligi*, a honey-collecting song of the Henebedda Veddas; sung by Tissahami, the "Vedda Arachi."

♪=126. 8ve lower.



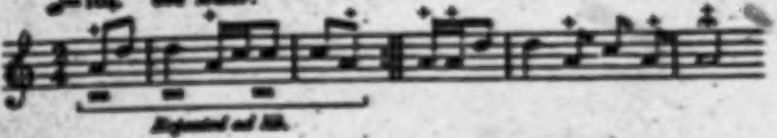
No. 39. Amusement Song; sung by Kuma of Bulugahaladena.

♩=120.



No. 14 (2). Invocation used by the Bandaradeniya Veddas; sung by a Sinhalese[1].

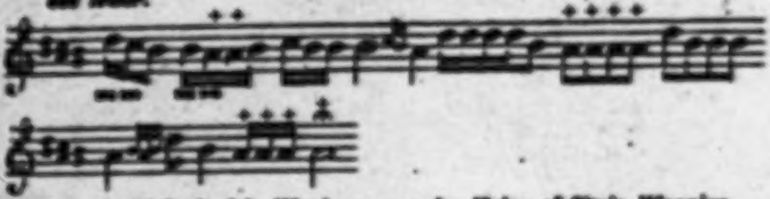
♩=104. See linear.



## GROUP C.

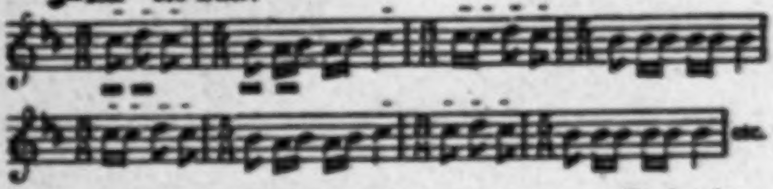
No. 32. Invocation of Bambura Yaka; sung by Handuna of Sitala Wanniya.

See linear.



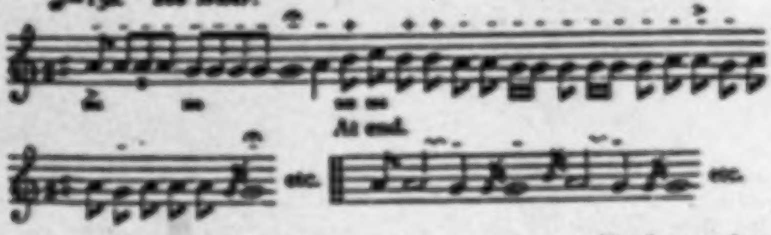
No. 33. Mulpola Itia Wanniya; sung by Kaira of Sitala Wanniya.

♪=208. See linear.



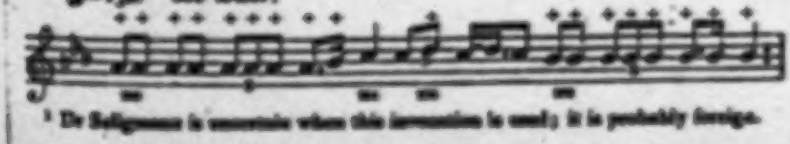
No. 26 (1). Invocation song at the *Kirikoraha* ceremony at Bandaradeniya.

♪=138. See linear.



No. 53 (1). Sinhalese rice-harvesting song; sung at Hembarawa (see footnote, p. 356).

♩=132. See linear.



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[1] Dr Seligmann is uncertain when this invocation is used; it is probably foreign.

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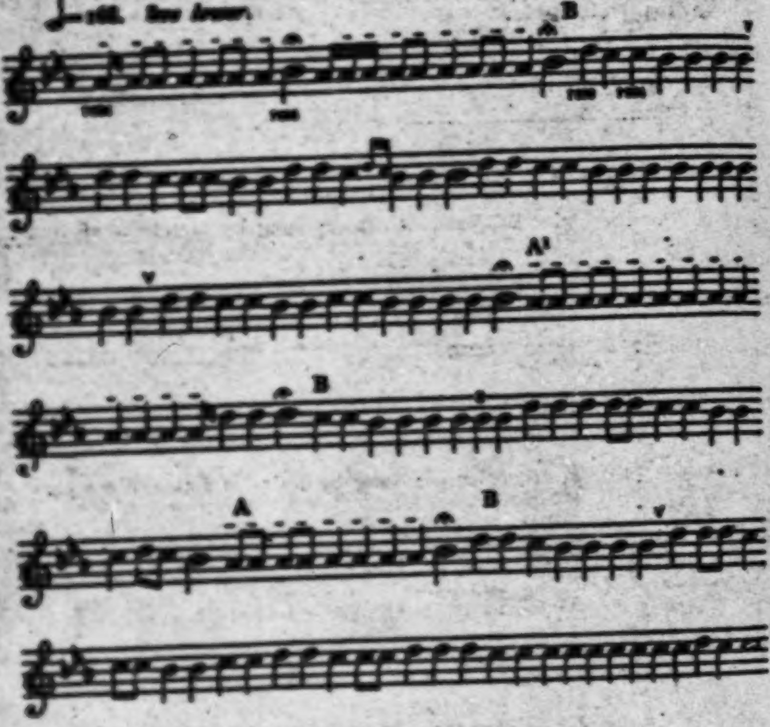
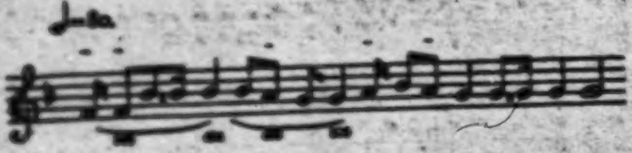
No. 44. Song when taking honey; sung by Poromala of Henebedda.

♩=168. *Sec Arner.*



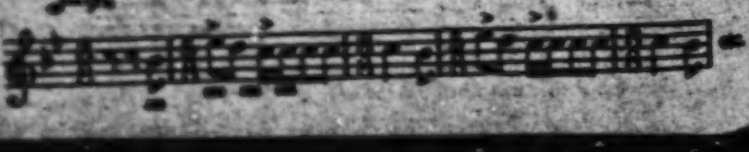
No. 28 A. Song commemorating two women who committed suicide (cf. p. 313); sung by Wannaku of Bandaraduwa.

♩=80.



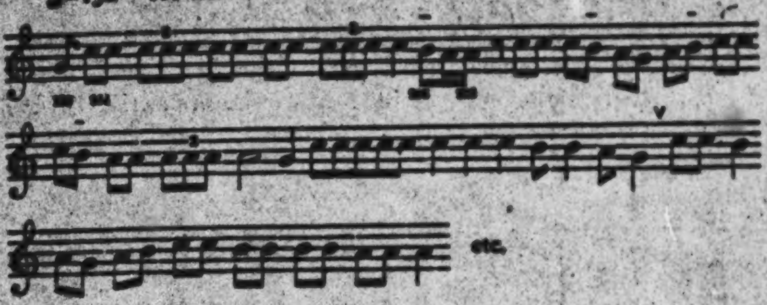
No. 34 (1). Lullaby; sung by Tandi, wife of Handuna of Sitala Wanniya.

♩=96.



No. 51. Sinhalese song; sung at Alutnuwara at night while watching the crops (see footnote, p. 356).

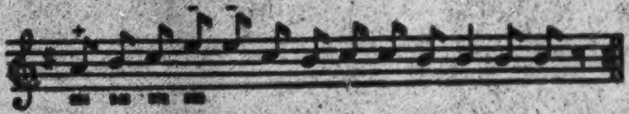
♩=132. *8ve lower.*



etc.

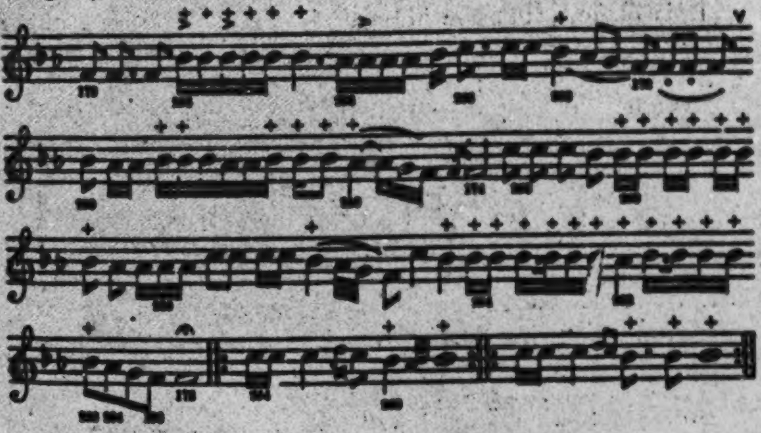
No. 5 (2). Invocation to Bilindi Yaka and Kande Yaka at the Kirikoraha ceremony.

♩=80. *8ve lower.*



No. 41. Invocation by the Dambani Veddas of the *Nae Yaku.*

♪=152. *8ve lower.*



## ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVALS.

### *The Songs of Group A.*

533 . The two columns headed "quotients" and "cents" in the accompanying table are obtained from the transcript by the following means:

| Song No. | Quotients | Cents |
|---|---|---|
| 42 | 1·075 | 125 |
| 43 | 1·075 | 125 |
| 36 | 1·099 | 164 |
| 32 | 1·110 | 168 |
| 21 | 1·104 | 171 |
| 11 (a) | 1·104 | 171 |
| 1 (a) | 1·121 | 198 |
| 40 | 1·121 | 200 |
| 22 A | 1·125 | 203 |
| 18 (a) | 1·128 | 208 |
| 1 (c) | 1·133 | 216 |

The quotient is the result of dividing the larger by the smaller of the two numbers which express the vibration-frequencies of the two tones in each of the songs of this group. Thus in the case of Song No. 42, 230 divided by 214 (the figures given in the transcript) yields the quotient 1·075. The cents are hundredth parts of our own tempered semitone[1].

It is obvious that the intervals intended to be used in the songs of Group A are three in number. The averages are given in the following table:

| Interval | Quotient | Cents |
|---|---|---|
| (α) | 1·075 | 125 |
| (β) | 1·104 | 168 |
| (γ) | 1·126 | 205 |

Of these the largest (γ) is approximately our own whole-tone interval, the smallest (α) amounts to five-eighths of our whole-tone interval, while the intermediate interval (β) is almost exactly half-way between the values of the two extremes[1]. The interval (α) occurs only in two songs sung by different individuals, who, however, were both Dambani Veddas. The Dambani singer of No. 43 is also responsible for No. 40, the interval of which falls in (γ).

---

[1] Various methods for calculating cents from the vibration-numbers of an interval are given by Ellis in his annotated translation of Helmholtz's *Sensations of Tone* (3rd edition, London, 1895), pp. [illegible].

*The Songs of Group B.*

| Song Number | Quotients | | Cents | | Range | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Quotients | Cents |
| 29 | 1·043 | 1·137 | 73 | 223 | [1·186] | [296] |
| 38 (2) | 1·050 | 1·124 | 84 | 202 | [1·180] | [286] |
| 2 | 1·057 | 1·129 | 96 | 210 | [1·193] | [306] |
| 27 | 1·067 | 1·132 | 112 | 215 | [1·208] | [327] |
| 39 | 1·055 | 1·111 | 94 | 181 | [1·172] | [275] |
| 31 A | 1·061 | 1·114 | 102 | 187 | 1·182 | 289 |
| 34 (2) | 1·084 | 1·094 | 140 | 157 | 1·186 | 297 |
| 30 (1) | 1·087 | 1·104 | 144 | 172 | [1·200] | [316] |
| 31 | 1·084 | 1·121 | 140 | 197 | 1·215 | 337 |
| 37 | 1·072 | 1·095 | 121 | 157 | [1·175] | [279] |
| 20 | 1·132 | 1·122 | 199 | 219 | 1·270 | 414 |

The columns headed "quotients" and "cents" in the foregoing table measure the intervals—in this Group the pairs of

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[1] For purposes of comparison, the following details may prove useful:

| *Interval.* | | *Quotient.* | *Cents.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Our tempered semitone ... ... ... | | 1·059 | 100 |
| " " tone ... ... ... ... | | 1·122 | 200 |
| " " minor third ... ... ... | | 1·189 | 300 |
| " " major third ... ... ... | | 1·260 | 400 |
| " " fourth ... ... ... ... | | 1·335 | 500 |
| " " tritone... ... ... ... | | 1·414 | 600 |
| " " fifth... ... ... ... ... | | 1·498 | 700 |
| Our just (or pure) semitone | (15 : 16) ... | 1·066 | 111·731 |
| " " " minor tone | ( 9 : 10) ... | 1·111 | 182·404 |
| " " " major tone | ( 8 : 9) ... | 1·125 | 203·910 |
| " " " minor third | ( 5 : 6) ... | 1·200 | 315·641 |
| " " " major third | ( 4 : 5) ... | 1·250 | 386·314 |
| " " " fourth | ( 3 : 4) ... | 1·3̇ | 498·045 |
| " " " tritone | (32 : 45) ... | 1·406 | 590·224 |
| " " " fifth | ( 2 : 3) ... | 1·500 | 701·955 |

intervals—for the various songs as in the previous Group. The last column, headed "range," expresses (also in the form of quotients and cents) the interval between the highest and lowest notes of each song. When that interval is not actually sung but only calculated, the figures are enclosed in brackets. Song No. 14 (2) is omitted from this group as its range and structure are obviously different from the rest. Dr Seligmann independently characterises this song as "almost certainly foreign... I find it was sung by a Sinhalese. I should neglect it." Song 20 is again exceptional. Its range exceeds four semitones (400 cents), or a major third. Here again Dr Seligmann—having regard only to evidence of a non-musical character—observes that "the words of this song are very late." Song No, 37 is somewhat exceptional. The intonation, moreover, is not very reliable.

The remaining songs of this Group fall into three divisions, the averages for which are shown in the following table:

| Interval | Quotients | | Cents | | Range | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Quotients | Cents |
| (δ) | 1·054 | 1·130 | 92 | 213 | 1·192 | 305 |
| (ε) | 1·059 | 1·112 | 98 | 184 | 1·177 | 282 |
| (ζ) | 1·085 | 1·106 | 142 | 175 | 1·200 | 317 |

It is evident that the range of notes in these three divisions is not sensibly different. It amounts approximately to our minor third.

This interval is divided in the case of divisions (δ) and (ε) into two intervals, one of which is somewhat smaller than our semitone, while the other is in (δ) larger, in (ε) smaller than our whole-tone.

In the case of division (ζ) the interval of a minor third is divided into two intervals which are much more nearly equal to one another. The same feature characterises Song No. 20, where the major third is almost equally bisected.

In only four of the eleven tunes of this group is an interval appreciably larger than a whole tone actually sung by the singer.

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This is shown by the unbracketed numbers in the columns headed "range." In No. 20 an interval of 414 cents (slightly exceeding a major third) is sung, but this song, as we have already observed, is exceptional. In Nos. 31 A and 34 (2), an interval somewhat less than a minor third is sung, in the former of 289, in the latter of 297 cents. In No. 31 the interval (337 cents) slightly exceeds a minor third.

The intervals sung in the anomalous song No. 14 (2) are of 467 and 269 cents.

The various average values of quotients and cents in the songs of groups A and B are set out in the following tables:

*Quotients.*

| I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1·054 | 1·075 | 1·085 | 1·104 | 1·126 | 1·177 |
| 1·059 | | | 1·106 | 1·130 | 1·192 |
| | | | 1·112 | | 1·200 |

*Cents.*

| I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 92 | 125 | 142 | 168 | 205 | 282 |
| 98 | | | 175 | 213 | 305 |
| | | | 184 | | 317 |

It will be noticed that the difference between I and II, III and IV, IV and V is about thirty cents, and that the difference between V and VI is about thrice this value.

### *The Songs of Group C.*

It will be remembered that the songs of this group contain four different notes. The intervals between the highest and lowest notes (maximal range), the intervals between alternate notes (an intervening tone omitted) and the intervals between

533 immediately successive notes are shown in the following table of quotients. Brackets indicate, as before, that the interval in question was not actually sung but only calculated.

| Song Number | Maximal range | Interval between alternate notes | | Interval between immediately successive notes | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32 (also 46) | 1·23 | [1·17] | 1·13 | 1·10 | 1·06 | 1·06 |
| 33 | [1·24] | [1·17] | [1·17] | 1·10 | 1·06 | 1·06 |
| 53 (1) | [1·31] | [1·21] | [1·19] | 1·10 | 1·09 | 1·09 |
| 26 (1) | [1·28] | [1·22] | [1·13] | 1·13 | 1·09 | 1·05 |
| 34 (1) | 1·32 | [1·25] | [1·19] | 1·12 | 1·11 | 1·06 |
| [1] 51 | 1·34 | [1·24] | 1·20 | 1·12 | 1·11 | 1·08 |
| 28 A | 1·35 | [1·26] | [1·17] | 1·15 | 1·09 | 1·07 |
| 44 | ? 1·37 | [? 1·29] | ? 1·19 | ? 1·16 | ? 1·12 | ? 1·06 |
| 5 (2) | 1·43 | 1·30 | ? 1·27 | ? 1·18 | 1·11 | 1·10 |
| 41 | 1·46 | 1·37 | 1·21 | 1·13 | 1·10 | 1·05 |

The songs appear to fall into four divisions. In the first of these the maximal range is expressed by the quotient 1·235—equal to 365 cents—(nearly a neutral third), and the intervals between successive notes are expressed by the quotients 1·06, 1·10,—equivalent to 101 and 165 cents respectively. In the third division, the maximal range amounts to 1·33 or 496 cents (almost exactly equal to a just fourth) while the successive notes average 1·06, 1·10 and 1·14, i.e. 101, 165, and 227 cents. A very similar interval in song No. 53 is trisected into almost equal intervals, each approximately of 165 cents. In the case of the last division, the maximal range averages 1·445, equivalent to 637 cents (an acute diminished fifth), and the intervals comprise again an almost pure fourth, a slightly exaggerated major third, and other intervals common to other songs of the group. Of the two songs in this division Dr Seligmann writes that in "No. 5......there are signs of foreign influence in the invocation as it stands, but it has a good old Vedda basis," and that "No. 41 is probably late."

Hence the most significant of the smaller intervals between successive notes occurring in the songs of Group C are equal to 101, 165, 227 cents, which are successively different by about 63 cents. But it will be remembered that the difference between certain intervals employed in Group B was found to be about 30 cents, half of the difference just observed. In Group C we have just found the neutral third of 365 cents divided into two intervals, one of 101 and the other of 165 cents, representing approximately three and five of these hypothetical units, each of 33 cents. The same intervals were found in the division of the fourth of 496 cents into 5, 3 and 7 of such units. Again in three songs of Group B, the average interval of 317 cents is divided into intervals of 142 and 175 cents, differing by 33 cents. In view, however, of the want of precision in intonation, it is difficult to believe that these differences are significant.

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[1] These songs are said to be Sinhalese, but in most respects they closely resemble the Vedda songs of this group and are therefore included in it.

The value of the fourth, when actually sung in the songs 28, 34 (1), 51 of Group C, averages 1·337 or 503 cents. Consequently it is almost pure. A pure minor third is sung in No. 34 (1). A neutral third is sung in No. 32, the value of which is 1·235 or 365 cents. In No. 5 (2), the minor third which is sung is small, amounting to 1·176 or 281 cents. The diminished fifth and the fourth sung in No. 41 correspond respectively to 655 and 543 cents.

Of the smaller intervals, the interval of 165 cents is certainly one of the most important. It occurs frequently in Group C and also (as 168 cents) in Group A, where it is exactly midway between the other two intervals (125 and 205 cents) met with in this group.

### *Analysis of the Rhythms.*

In the majority of the songs the *time* is fairly regular, but the *accents* often recur irregularly owing to the variable numbers of syllables. The following extracts from the writer's note-book will serve to illustrate this general lack of regular measure:

No. 22 A. Want of regular accent; number of notes *ad libitum* according to words.

No. 21. Irregular accent according to number of syllables (see notation).

No. 38. Time regular but without regular accent.

No. 1 (1). Frequent interpolation of extra beats owing to extra syllables. *Rate* of beats constant. Little or no grouping of beats into larger units (i.e. no measure, bar or tact).

No. 13. The words dictate the number of notes.

No. 20. Considerable variation in time and in number of notes, regulated by breathing and by number of syllables.

No. 26. With variations according to recitative.

No. 28. No regular accent.

In some songs, however, the measures were more obvious. Thus,

No. 51. Very rhythmical, but occasionally an odd syllable is inserted.

No. 5. Fairly regular, save for a few extra syllables.

In only a few was the rhythm very well marked, as the following extracts show:

No. 11 (2). Very regular rhythm and accent.

No. 18 (2). Very regular rhythm.

No. 34 (1). Regular save for breath-marks.

No. 14 (2). Strict tempo save for breath-marks.

No. 36. Strict time.

In five songs, the rhythm is particularly noteworthy owing to the occurrence of bars of five beats. Thus, in No. 18 (2), a bar of five beats is inserted three times in the course of the song. One of them is shown in the part transcribed. In No. 14 (2), a five-bar is introduced in strict time at the close of the tune. Again in Nos. 33, 34 (1), 36 (2) there are alternate groups of three and five beats. In other words a bar of eight beats is sub-divided into two bars containing three and five beats respectively.

With these exceptions and the striking exception of No. 20, no one of the songs is clearly in triple measure, although occasionally, e.g. in No. 22 A, a bar of three beats is introduced into a song.

Generally speaking, where the accent occurs sufficiently regularly for the measure to be apprehended, the accent is found to lie on the first of every two or four beats.

Seligmann & Seligmann 2-6 (1907-1908) 1911
[illegible] Vedda [illegible]

## GENERAL CHARACTER OF SONGS.

The songs have an exceedingly plain character, and are devoid of the ornamentation with which we meet in many examples of primitive music. The few embellishments which occur in Nos. 1 (1), 1 (2), 2, 29, 32, are quite slight and simple. They present a contrast in this respect when compared with Nos. 30 and 33, which are records of other than Vedda music from Ceylon. I am indebted to Mr R. R. Broome, B.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, for their notation.

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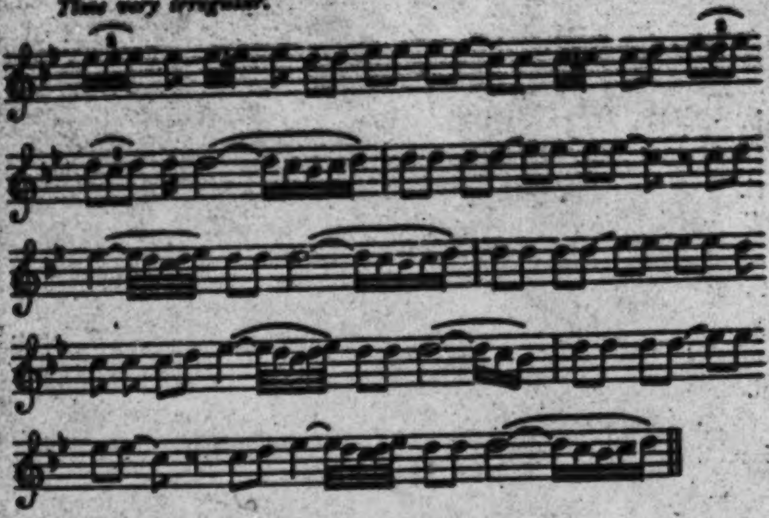
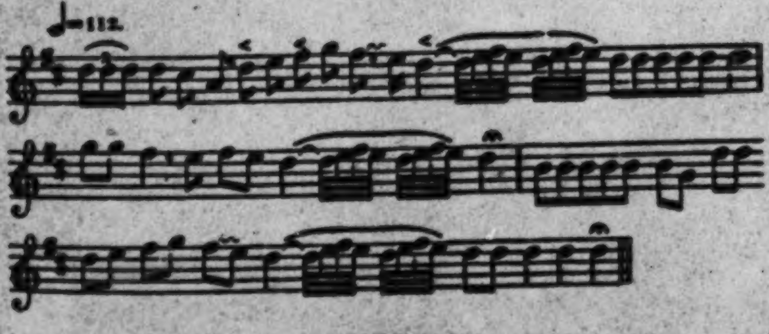
No. 30. Charm (reputed to be Arabic) sung by the Arachi of Girandura.

*Time very irregular.*



No. 33. Sinhalese Love Song.



Another feature is the precision with which the notes are hit. There is not a single example of that *glissando* from note to note, which is so frequently met with among certain primitive peoples.

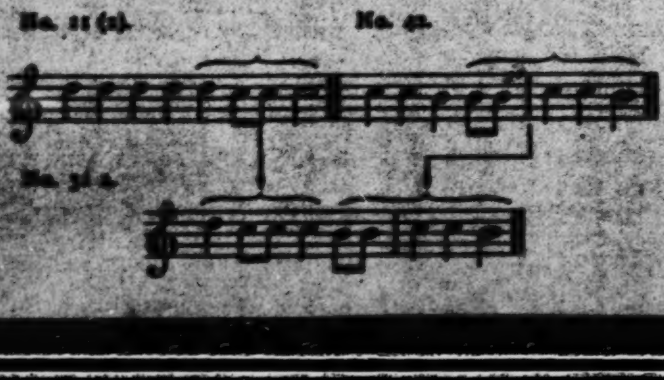
In only one song does more than one singer take part, and in this, No. 37, the second singer merely repeats the melody of the first when the latter has finished. There is hence no instance of two or more simultaneously sung notes.

But perhaps the most striking characteristic of Vedda music is the apparent feeling for tonality. In every song a tonic note is clearly present, which is, so to speak, the centre of gravity of the melody, emphasized by accent, duration, or frequency—a note to which the melody seeks to return.

In the majority of songs of Groups A and B the melody starts from the highest tone and proceeds (directly or by an intermediate tone) to the tonic, which is consequently the lowest tone. This description essentially holds, (i) for all the songs in Group A, excepting the opening phrase of No. 38, which is distinct from the rest; (ii) for the twelve songs of Group B, excepting Nos. 36 (2) and 37, where the tune ascends from the tone below the highest before descending, and Nos. 14 (2) and 39 which ascend direct from the lowest (tonic) to the highest; and (iii)—but for the introduction of a leading note—for four of the songs in Group C.

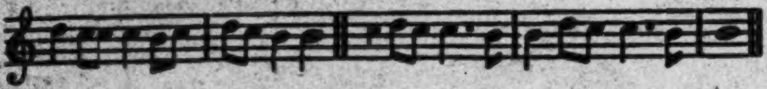
The close similarity between the various songs of Group A is so obvious that no further comment is necessary to establish it.

It is not difficult to trace the development of many of the songs of Group B from those of Group A. For example:



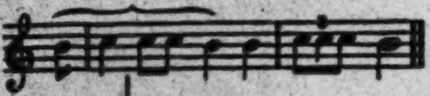
From the last song, No. 31 A, there is an easy transition to certain other songs of the same group, e.g. to

No. 31. No. 34 (2).

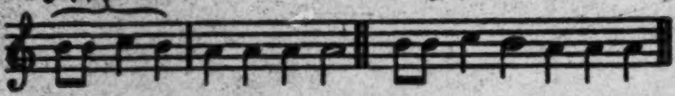


We can also indicate the relation between No. 42 of Group A and five other songs of Group B.

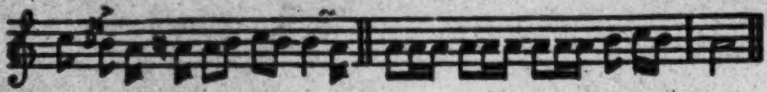
No. 42.



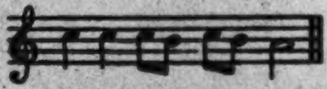
No. 36 (2). No. 37.



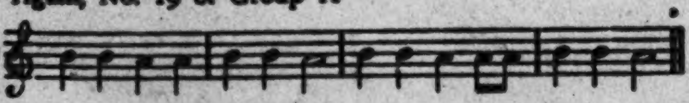
No. 2. No. 39.



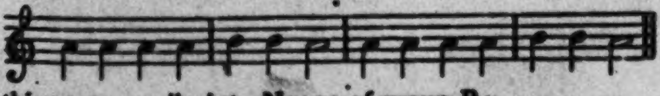
No. 27.



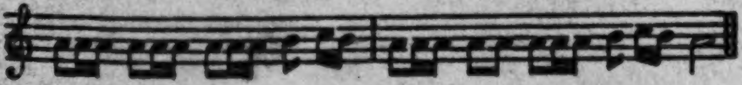
Again, No. 19 of Group A



by a change comparable to that occurring in the opening phrases of No. 38 easily becomes



and this passes easily into No. 39 of group B:—



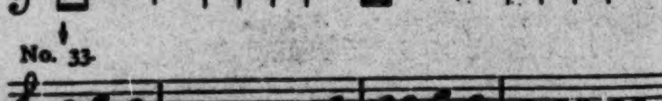
The introduction of a fourth note into the melody is seen in its most elementary form in the case of song No. 44[1]. Here, a division into two phrases, A (modified at A¹) and B, is clearly possible. Of these B consists of three notes, and has the general characters of the songs of Group B, while A contains the tonic, the lowest tone of the phrase B, preceded by the tone below the tonic, that is to say, by the leading-note. The use of the leading-note is clearly foreshadowed in the opening phrase of Song No. 38 in Group A. Four other songs in Group C, Nos. 28, 34 (1), 51 and 5 (2), have a definite leading-note. In Nos. 28, 34 (1) and 51, the leading-note is followed immediately by the highest note, whence a descent is made to the tonic as in the songs of Group B. Hence four of the songs in Group C only differ in structure from those of Group B by the addition of a leading-note.

No. 53 (1) is exceptional in that it starts from the tonic and ascends by intermediate tones to the highest, whence a gradual descent is made to the tonic. It is a Sinhalese song.

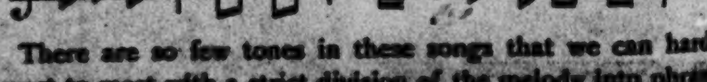
No. 26 (1) should perhaps be classed in Group B,—of so little importance is the highest or fourth note introduced. Apart from its opening phrase, it may be compared with Nos. 36 (2) and 37 of that group, both of which ascend from the note below the highest, before descending to the tonic.

Only one other song of Group C remains unmentioned. And this, No. 33, is extremely like No. 36 (2) of Group B, not only in structure but in the curious rhythm. An unimportant semitone is introduced beneath the tonic.

No. 36 (2).



No. 33.



There are so few tones in these songs that we can hardly expect to meet with a strict division of the melody into phrases

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[1] See transcript, p. [illegible]

Yet in songs Nos. 26 (1), 38, and 44 there are opening phrases distinct from the body of the song. And in No. 44 this opening phrase (marked A in the transcript) is repeated in its original (or, as at A[1], in a modified) form during the song. The melody is thus very easily divisible into a series of alternating phrases, attaining a higher stage of development in this respect than any other of the melodies under investigation. Nos. 26 (1) and 41 (both of which Dr Seligmann suspects to be of modern date) have a short terminal phrase, clearly separable and differing in character from the remainder of the song. 533

## CONCLUSIONS AND COMPARISONS.

In the Vedda music we seem to meet with the very beginnings of melody-building. At the lowest stage (Group A) we have a two-note song descending from the higher to the lower tone. Then (in Group B) a third note is added higher in pitch than either of the preceding. Lastly (in Group C) a fourth note is introduced, generally a tone below the tonic, the influence of which throughout most of the songs is very clearly felt. 533 171

There is no other people in whose music the gradual construction of melody on these simple lines can be discerned. If we turn to Australian music[1], we usually meet, it is true, with small intervals between successive tones, but the range of tones throughout any one song is considerable. Among the American Indians it is also rare to find a song consisting only of two notes. Only four of the forty-three American Indian melodies collected by Abraham and v. Hornbostel[2] consist of two notes, and in three of these the interval is a neutral or minor third. Similar results are yielded by the older collections of Baker[3] and Stumpf[4]. The music of the natives of New Guinea, Borneo and Africa is decidedly more complex than that of the Veddas.

Turning to the music of Southern India, we find that only two or three of thirteen phonographic records, obtained from

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[1] Karl Hagen, *Ueber d. Musik einiger Naturvölker*, Hamburg, 1892.

[2] Phonographirte Indianer Melodieen aus British Columbia, in the *Boas Memorial Volume*, New York, 1906, pp. 447—474.

[3] *Ueber d. Musik d. nordamerik. Wilden*, Leipzig, 1882.

[4] *Vierteljahrs. d. Musikwiss.*, 1886, S. 405—426.

533 171 natives of Gujar, Malabar and Tanjore[1], at all resemble in simplicity the Vedda music. Five of them have a range of tones compassing an octave, while three others range over a sixth. Of the three most primitive songs one is a prayer, the other two being children's songs. It cannot be said that in general character they very closely resemble the Vedda songs.

The intervals among the Veddas appear to have been developed by the successive addition of small intervals to those previously used. There are only two or three exceptional cases [Nos. 20, 34 (2), 53 (1)] in which the added intervals are approximately equal to the original; and these instances are possibly accidental. In nearly all the remaining songs of Group B, the additional third tone consists of approximately a semitone added above the whole-tone interval which starts from the tonic. The two intervals thus comprise a minor third. This minor third tends to be smaller than our own tempered or untempered interval. A major third occurs only in a single song, and a neutral third is also only once sung. In Group C, the fourth, when sung, is in most cases approximately true, although in one song it is smaller, in another decidedly larger, than our own tempered or untempered interval. A fifth occurs but in one song and is distinctly smaller than ours.

We can only conclude from these data that in the absence of musical instruments, musical intervals are by no means fixed among the Veddas, and that this want of fixity becomes more striking, the greater the number of notes introduced into the song. In dealing with the songs of Group A, we were able to range without difficulty the intervals under three heads. But with the songs of Groups B and C such classification became increasingly difficult and more uncertain.

From what we know of primitive music elsewhere, it was not to be expected that the Veddas would sing pure minor or major thirds. For a long time, even in European music, thirds were regarded as dissonant. What does, however, seem unusual, is that the fifth, in the one Vedda song in which it occurs, bears so little resemblance to the consonant interval which has the ratio 2 : 3. It is almost a quarter-tone flat. On the other hand, the

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[1] Sammelb. d. internat. Musikgesellsch. 1904, III v, S. 348–401.

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fourth is several times sung nearly in the consonant ratio of 3:4. Inasmuch as the fifth is so much more consonant than the fourth, we should have expected to have found its intonation purer than the fourth.

For the same reason we might have expected to have found the fifth preferred to the fourth, but the fifth only occurs in one song, while the fourth is sung in several. But the intervals of the Veddas appear to have been developed, as we have already said, not by taking a harmonious interval and dividing it into smaller intervals, but by starting with small (and uncertain) intervals and adding further intervals to them. It is only in the more advanced songs (and these are very few in number) that relatively large intervals are sung. And here we appear first to meet with the influence of harmony in fixing the size of such consonant intervals. Despite the fact that to our ears tonality is so well-marked throughout the Vedda songs, the approximate consonance of intervals is only reached when the two tones immediately succeed one another.

As regards the rhythm of the Vedda songs, it is noteworthy that in Indian music Abraham and von Hornbostel found frequent instances of the interpolation of a 3- or a 5-pulse measure in music otherwise of common time. They note that change of rhythm is "so frequent that we are often unable to detect any constant primary rhythm at all, but are compelled to imagine a continual modification of measure[1]." This remark is applicable, as we have seen, to much of Vedda music, while in other Indian and Vedda songs a definite rhythm can be readily apprehended. In many parts of the world primitive music is characterised by "a delight in change and opposition of rhythm, and a demand that relatively long periods filled with measures of diverse length be apprehended as an organic whole or 'phrase'[2]." This is a characteristic of several of the Vedda songs.

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[1] *Op. cit.* S. 998.

[2] C. S. Myers, *Brit. Journ. of Psychol.* 1905, Vol. 1, p. 405.

# CHAPTER XIV

## SONGS

533 IN this chapter we give a number of Vedda songs for the transliteration and translation of which we are indebted to Mr Gunasekara.

It will be noted that a number of the songs are variants on a common theme; with the exception of No. IV (song asking for presents), the lullabies and the song sung while plucking *jak* fruit, all were sung for the enjoyment they caused or the amusement they produced—that is to say we could not discover that there were occasions on which any of these songs were sung specially and exclusively. Even the sad little song (No. VII) commemorating the suicide of two women[1], though it did not cause amusement, was by no means avoided and seemed to give a good deal of quiet satisfaction. The song sung by women to their husbands who returned empty handed from seeking honey, though doubtless sung on appropriate occasions, was also sung at other times and was considered rather a joke.

533 539 A number of the best known songs begin or end with a variant of the untranslatable lines

*Tan pappilatman pappilatal*
*Tānan pappilan pappilatal*[2].

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[1] The legend has been given on pp. 312 and 313.

[2] Mr Gunasekara by slightly altering these lines would obtain

*Tay tay dinatai tay tay dinatai*
*Thada tay dina tay dinatai*

which he would translate

May such be victorious! May such be victorious!
May he defeat those who are inimical to him! May he be victorious!

[p 364]

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Other songs begin with a variant of

*Mānāpī mānāpī mahādēyiyō*

which may be translated

Oh great man! Oh great man! Oh great god!

or perhaps as Bailey writes

My departed one, my departed one, my god!

The following lullaby was sung at Banderaduwa by a woman called Hudumeniki to the air (No. 19) given on page 345.

I. *Rō-rō-rō*
*Ammē mukkapāda āndannē*
*Ammē gōnige tēlāpal*
*Ēkat mindama dīpawa dennā*
*Ammē mukkapāda āndannē*
*Ammē gēnala hakkapayi āndannē*
*Ēkat mindama dewa dennā*
*Ammē mukkapāda āndannē*
*Ammē wandurāgē ihapayi*
*Ēkat mindama dewa dennā*
*Ammē mukkapāda āndannē*
*Ammē rilāgē ihapayi*
*Ēkat mindama dewa dennā*
*Rō-rō-rō*
*Ammē halamulla perīpel*
*Nindāpayi āndannē*
*Nidigannā pilīpal*
*Nindāpayi āndannē*
*Rō-rō-rō*
*Ammā rō-rō-rō*
*Ammā mukkapa āndannē*
*Ammā diē nāpapayi āndannē*
*Ammē mukkapayi āndannē*
*Ammē wādi nidanapayi*
*Rō-rō-rō ammā.*

*Rō-rō-rō* Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the fat of the sambur hind? Give the whole of it (i.e. the fat). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the *gēnala* yams you are crying? Give all of them (i.e. the yams). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the head of the *wanduru* monkey? Give the whole of it (i.e. the head). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the head of the *rilawa* monkey? Give the whole of it (i.e. the head). *Rō-rō-rō*

553 Child, weeping child; are you crying for sleep? Sleeping child, are you crying for sleep? *[illegible]* Darling, *[illegible]*

539 Darling, for what are you crying? Darling, is it for bathing you are crying? Child, what are you crying for? Child, is it for sleep? Darling, *[illegible]*

The next lullaby was sung by Tandi of Sitala Wanniya; we do not know whether this is the lullaby the music of which is given on page 347 (No. 34 (2)) or on page 350 (No. 34 (1)).

II. *[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*

Lovely babe, what do you cry for, child? Child, is it for the [illegible] I will give the whole of it. Child, what do you cry for? Child, is it for [illegible] yam. I will give the whole of it. Child, what do you cry for? Child, is it for the fat of the monitor lizard. I will give the whole of it.

These lullabies though longer than those collected by Nevill closely resemble the latter, although they do not appear to contain the jokes and intentional absurdities which Nevill considered to exist in those he recorded[1].

The next song though not a lullaby was said to have been sung by a mother to her young children who were frightened at the oncoming of a thunder storm. It was taken down at Nilgala.

III. *[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. [illegible], p. [illegible]. We are by no means convinced that Nevill was right in seeing jokes and absurdities in these lullabies. He himself notes [illegible] [illegible] the people themselves do not altogether understand many words in them.

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*[illegible]*
*Rajgalle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ane*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible] ane*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*

Darling! Darling! There you see the wind and rain are coming down from outside the Seven Hills. See the rain. See brother, thunder and lightning coming from the direction of the sea. Things are getting bad. My body is losing strength (through fear). Let us two go to the Rajgala cave (or cave place). Ho! ho! my two princes, it is not possible to go [illegible], step. Oh lovely [illegible]! In the forest are [illegible] and gods. Are we not staying in the palace at night! The sky is getting dark, the earth is getting dark. Are not the fruits falling at [illegible] and [illegible]! Let us go to the Rajgala cave.

The following "song asking for presents" was sung by a woman of Bandaraduwa to the *kiri* (No. [illegible]) given on page [illegible]. Although addressed to the *Hudu Nona* (white cousin, i.e. white woman) it was not an extemporary composition but was said to have been known to the singer's parents.

IV. *Hudu [illegible] [illegible] kola, [illegible] kola, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
*[illegible].*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible].*
*[illegible].*

White cousin (elder), (I am) running short of betel leaves[1] and areca nut. White cousin, give (us) presents so that we may run away. White cousin, the young (or white) youngest [illegible] of *[illegible]* is getting hungry. Give us, give us, presents that we may run away.

The next two songs, both collected at Nilgala, were particularly popular; the first reflects the very high estimate in which a Vedda holds his wife.

V. *[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*
*[illegible]*

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[1] In the original *[illegible] kola* and *[illegible] kola* both mean betel leaves.

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*Wannin pinnam pana nityayi*
*Wannan pinapan pana nityayi*
*Kuḍḍ poṭa nattiko pana yannāyi*
*Kuḍḍ poṭa nattiko pana yannāyi.*

For (want) of grass or food, the life will not depart (i.e. man will not die); owing to cold or wind, the life will not depart; owing to rain or dew, the life will not depart. If there be no wife, the life will depart.

VI. *Tīnam taṇḍin tīndoi*
*Man aṭṭiḍa kaḍawaṭ deka gattim*
*Man aṭṭiḍa kaḍawaṭ deka gattim*
*Mokada mokada kala kiri nīlui*
*Mokada mokada kala kiri nīlui*
*Ēkama kiyana kaḍawaṭ nowayi mukaḍa gatti kala nīlui*
*Ara pallī tiḍawi tībāwa*
*Dumbaḍikkiya tila deka gattim.*

*Tīnam taṇḍin tīndoi.*
I have seen a fine thing and taken it. What is it, what is it, oh good *nīlui?* *Nīlan*, the thing which I saw and picked up is not one that I will mention readily. You *nīlan*, what I saw and picked up is the smoking pipe which was on that distant high ground (lit. back high-ground).

[276] The Sinhalese do not smoke pipes, and the Veddas do not smoke at all; on questioning our informants we were told that this song was only two or three generations old and referred to the finding of a pipe dropped by a white sportsman.

The next song recorded at Bandaraduwa alludes to the suicide of two Vedda women and has been referred to already on pages 322 and 323. Only the first part of the song, containing no direct reference to the final tragedy, was taken down.

VII. *Akkinam akkinam yanḍa wāriman*
*Api dennāgē wunnātā enḍimo nārī*
*Bālanḍa yanḍima wārē nakgā*
*Nakgā nan nakgā api dennāgē wunnāta*
*Dennagena ennan kikkanḍa wārē nakgā nan nakgā*
*Akkī nan akkī nan maḍa kāsuru kīri nan kīri nan*
*Nakgā nan nakgā nan wārē nan wārē nan*
*Api dennāgē wunnātā welikkanḍiyēta dennagena ennan*
*Bālanḍa wārēm.*

Elder sister, elder sister, come to go. Our husbands have not returned; come younger sister, let us go to look for them. Younger sister, younger sister, the husbands of us two are coming running. Younger sister, younger

sister, come to look. Elder sister, elder sister, I am afraid, I cannot, I cannot. Younger sister, younger sister, come, come. The husbands of us two 533
are coming running from Wellikandiya. Come and see. 539

The next song, collected at Sitala Wanniya, records a fatal accident while honey-gathering; a woman speaks to her sister, so that "elder brother" in the third line should be "elder sister"; "younger brother" is a common periphrasis for husband. Tantirivelo is the name of a rock-face and the "golden jewelled cord" is the *liana* ladder by which the honey-seekers reach the comb (cf. Chapter X, invocation No. XXVI).

VIII. *Tantirivelo kaliyaje bitju*
*Ran minji kandi gallen bindili*
*Binda dunnane mage kiriy ayiye*
*Apiti donnaye malilla dunnaja*
*Adiani anaratakamak ati mage kiri akki.*

(At) Tantirivelo the skilfully (or forcibly) lowered
Golden jewelled cord which is sunk from the rock
Gives an unlucky sign, my dear elder brother.
For the younger brothers of us two
There will be a sudden difficulty, my dear elder sister[1].

The following song, also from Sitala Wanniya, was sung by women to their husbands when the latter returned from honey-seeking without honey. The air to which it was sung is given on page 344 (No. 21).

IX. *Diel mirawil randenda ekka tikka*
*Kala reni mangila duwanawata jaannala*
*Ran kaduwata kapala ela mitran nāginaeyi*
*Mitanillia ikeli kattiyi biyala*
*Derangena duwā wannila-gella*
*Ela mitran nangila ela gini wandinnginne amma.*

(They) let down, let down the great *merulila* creeper jungle rope, (they) drive away the bees with smoke; (the comb) was cut with the golden sword for the young sisters of Morane. (Our) husbands came running and saying, "Above this corner there is none." The young sisters of Morane are getting hungry.

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[1] Mr Parker, to whom we are indebted for the translation of this song, notes that "*gallen* stands for *galen*; *bindili* appears to be derived from *bindinawa* to be sunk, and to be the equivalent of *bindilā*.

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The next song, transliterated and translated by Mr Parker, was collected at Sitala Wanniya where it was known only to the older men of the community. It was sung only when getting *jak* fruit, and though these Veddas knew the ordinary Sinhalese word for this fruit they told me it would not be used. They explained that there was only one place in their territory where there were two or three *jak* trees (doubtless the remains of old gardens made by Buddhist monks or recluses), that they valued their fruit very highly, and that they would not commonly speak of them by name and certainly would not do so when about to gather the fruit. In this song *bo* tree and *moran* flower are both honorific terms. This suggests that the song has magic power, so that its most appropriate position in this volume would be in Chapter VIII.

X. *Mē yāmeṇ yāmeṭa sol ākāṣe wandunā*
*Mē Bōpata ruwala yan kenakaṭa bahe dinawanna*
*Mē moraṇ malē misak attiyen beri nan kekkiyen bindala*
*Masi polowaṭa basala dennāyi.*

Here, from watch to watch, this (tree) touched the sky.
No one can cause this Bō-leaf sail to be overcome.
Having broken off with the hook this ripening flower only, if unable (to pluck it) by the hand,
Having lowered it to the earth, I will give it.

*Moran* appears to be *mōrana*.

*Malē* may be a poetical allusion to the fruit.

*Masi polowaṭa* for *mahi polowaṭa*, a pleonastic form, "to the earth's earth," that is, to the ground. Such pleonasms are not uncommon in colloquial village Sinhalese, as for instance, *edā dawasa*, "that day's day," for "that day."

The next two songs were collected at Nilgala; our informants attached no meaning to the first line.

XI. *Mā miṇi sul miṇi sul deyiyō*
*Kākurukaddē kōheyiyō*
*Kuduruṇ kuduruṇ kiyaṇṇā*
*Kokka gālaṭa wari wālā*
*Mādē gālaṭa wari wālā*
*Mādē gālaṭa wari wālā*
*Tala pīpaṭa wari wālā*
*Kōpan dawasaṭa bera wadinayi*

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*Kāḍen pæccela yak gamatē*
*Bimen yannaṭa bol pini bærimayi*
*Mīwāpiṭen yamu dennā*
*Ānē apē wannilā*
*Kobbǣ walē nægilā*
*Ēkat bindagena wæṭilā*
*Kælina walē nægilā*
*Ēkat bindagena wæṭilā*
*Wælkobbǣ wela dunna namāgena*
*Wewæl iṇgē piṭaṭa damāgena*
*Bulat payiyat ina gannāgen*
*Pōrē pæccēt ina gannāgena*
*Kunu gō taḍiyā karaṭa damāgena*
*Kaḍiyā ballat issara karagena*
*Endælu potu ban dena nayidē*
*Endælu potu ban dena nayidē.*

*Mā mini mā mini mā deyiyā.*

The dove of the Kakuru Mountain is singing *kudurun, kudurun.* There was rain at Kokkāgāla. There was rain at Mādēgāla. There was rain at Mādēgāla. There was rain on the high land. There is muddy water bringing down logs. (There has been) a *yaka* ceremony below the rock. (I) cannot go on the ground as there is dew. Let us ride on the back of the buffalo. Anē! our husbands having climbed up the *kobbæ* creeper, on its breaking having fallen; having climbed the *kælina* creeper, on its breaking, too, having fallen; bending the bow (made) of *wæl-kobbæ*[1] creeper, putting the canes at the back of the head[2], taking the betel bag at the waist, taking the axe at the waist, putting the dirty monitor lizard on the shoulder, sending in front the dog Kaḍiyā, (You are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potubanda Nayide, (you are) to come, they say (or he says, or we say) Potubanda Nayide.

XII. *Mā miṇi mā miṇi mā deyiyā*
*Mā miṇi mā miṇi mā deyiyā*
*Ānē āpē wannilā*
*Kokkā gālē yanni dennā*
*Mādē gālē yanni dennā*
*Kokkā gālē bæri baburu*
*Mādē gālē bæri baburu*
*Kākuru Kandē Kōbeyiyā*
*Kākuru Kandē Kōbeyiyā*
*Kuṭuruṃ kuṭuruṃ kiyannā*

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[1] *Allophylus cobbe.*
[2] Or "carrying them hanging round the neck."

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*Kuturup kuturup kiyanuni*
*Tikis pilpeṭa wagi wilkā*
*Kōjan dāmana kora wataragī*
*Kōjan dāmana kora wataragī*
*Kōjan janakgaṭ gamaṭe*
*Binnan yaunaṭa bel pini kerimayigai*
*Madagal pējan yamai danat*
*Kaliya wala nagēla*
*Ēhat kēdāgana watēla*
*Kebbe walē nagēla*
*Ēhat kēdāgana watēla*
*Wal-kebbe wala dunna damāgana*
*Wēwal kangi pējaṭa damāgana*
*Kaḍiyā ballat issarahaṛagana*
*Endalu potahanna nayidē*
*Endalu potahanna nayidē*
*Mā naipi nat naipi nat deyiyā*
*Mā naipi nat naipi nat deyiyā.*

Ah, our husbands! Let us go to Kokkagala. Let us go to Madagala. (I) cannot go to Kokkagala. I cannot go to Madagala. The dove of the Kokuru-landa is uttering *kuturum, kuturum*. There has been rain in the high land. There has been muddy water bringing down logs. There has been a *yaka* ceremony (lit. *yaka* house) below the hill. (I) cannot go on the ground as there is dew. Let us ride on the buffalo. Having climbed up the *kāliya* creeper, on its breaking having fallen; having climbed up the *kebbe* creeper, on its breaking too, having fallen; putting down the bow (made) of *wal-kebbe* creeper, putting the canes at the back of the head[1]; sending in front the dog Kaḍiyā, (you are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potahanda Nayidē. (You are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potahanda Nayidē. *Mā naipi nat naipi nat deyiyā, Mā naipi nat naipi nat deyiyā.*

All the remaining songs except the last were collected from the village Veddas of the Uva Bintenne; all are of one type and with a single exception (No. XVII) all are related to each other and to the two songs immediately preceding them which we obtained at Nilgala. No. XVII, the exception just referred to, is extremely Sinhalese in tone and thought. The *gomara* spots referred to are the light patches on the body, due to the attacks of a parasitic fungus, which are much admired by the peasant Sinhalese of Uva and the Eastern Province.

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[1] Or "carrying them hanging round the neck."

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XIII. *Kæliya wæle nægila*
*Rætaṭa pæligena wæṭila*
*Tunaṭiya pollat bidila*
*Tō ya kella genan wal*
*Nændage pæduraṭa mangnecala*
  *Tānanne bala tānanai*
*Mundī kaňdapiṭa wætirila*
*Ōhaṭa widapaw kiri nǣnā*
*Iccata widapī icca ari*
*Tambaṭa keṭṭen nunnāpi*
*Ē madi widapi mærē*
*Depiṭa maṭen wilga*
*Peruma marāpin nǣnā*
*Puccā kālayi diya bonnē*
*Eliya pāna wī cunaw nǣnā*
*Cappi cili bili kiyanna*
*Yannaṭa næṭiya nǣnā*
*Wælleggāyē cappigē gāi*
*Cappige bittara dekama dekayi*
*Puccā kālā diya bonne nænā*
  *Tan tadina tan tadinānā*
*Mīmiya nemiyi wāmiya*
*Kottikaṭa kana wī kālā kālayi diya bonne.*

Having climbed up the *kæliya* creeper,
Splitting it in two and having fallen,
Having broken (his?) hip and stick,
Having even brought thy girl,
Having gone to thy mother-in-law's mat (*i.e.* hut).
*Tānanne bala tānanai.*
The monitor lizard is sprawling on the log.
Shoot it dear cousin,
Shoot at the head. You will miss the head;
Incline (the arrow) towards the tail, by the ribs.
Shoot (it) in the middle; it will die.
Kill the buffalo, cousin,
Which has smeared (itself) at the pool with mud on both sides.
Having roasted and eaten (part of it) we drink water.
The light is coming, cousin,
The birds say *cilibili.*
Must we not go, cousin?
In the bird's nest on the Wal-kos tree
There are two and two bird's eggs.
Having roasted and eaten (them) we drink water, cousin.
*Tan tadina tan tadinānā.*
To eat a part, having cut this and eaten (it), we drink water.

*Dekama dekayi* Sin. *deka dekayi*, two and two, or two by two.

533 The last line appears to refer to the buffalo that was killed.

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XIV. *Hitten taḍdinā tan taḍdipānē!*
*Hit kaliya wæli nægīla*
*Hitlen bimața wæṭīla*
*Hit Kokkāgalața man danin*
*Etten ippița man nodanin*
*Etten ippițat man danin*
*Mādi-galața man nodanin*
*Etten ippițat man danin*
*Utkirigalața man danin*
*Etten ippița mā nodanin*
*Etten ippițat man danin*
*Hit mandigalața man danin*
*Etten ippițat man nodanin*
*Waḍamā miṭmā lanu bæňdalā*
*Waḍamā piṭin yannat bærinam*
*Cenupen cenupața yanna doṇṇā*
*Tenupen tenupața yannat bærinam*
*Sīten sulangin yanna doṇṇā.*

*Hitten taḍdinā tan taḍdipānē.*

Having climbed the *kaliyawæla* creeper, and having fallen to the ground from it, I know the way to Kokkagala. I know the way beyond that also. I do not know the way to Madegala. I know the way beyond that also. I know the way to Utkirigala. I do not know the way beyond that. I know the way beyond that also. I know the way to that Madegala. I do not know the way beyond that also. Put the ropes on the hunting buffalo. If we cannot go on the back of the hunting buffalo let us go from shelter to shelter. If we cannot go from shelter to shelter, let us go (exposing ourselves) to cold and wind.

XV. *Tan paḍdinawan paḍdinānē*
*Tāppan pappini pappinānē*
*Dīyața hañdan uḍa næṭenawā*
*Dīyața hañḍayi uḍa næṭenawā*
*Cāppi cilli billi kiyanawā*
*Cāppi cilli billi kiyanawā*
*Ran kuru mākuḷ pepenawā*
*Ran kuru mākuḷ pepenawā*
*Hit man kavuda kiyālā*
*Hit man kavuda kiyālā*
*Etaḷața uḍa era kiri nænē*
*Etaḷața uḍa era kiri nænē.*

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*Tan pappindman pappindad*
*Tippan pappilai pappindad*
*Diyaja kalipan uja narand*
*Diyaja kalipayi uja narand*
The birds are twittering[1]
The birds are twittering.
A golden bud face was visible
A golden bud face was visible.
I asked "Who is that?"
I asked "Who is that?"
Then (it was) that dear cousin of ours.
Then (it was) that dear cousin of ours.

XVI. *Tan pajjinand pajjindad*
*Tinda pappilan pajjindad*
*Kapuru-kandi kobeyi*
*Kapuru-kandi kobeyi*
*Kejaran kejaran kiyanad*
*Kejaran kejaran kiyanad*
*Karalli pajja kadi kāpa*
*Karalli pajja kakyi kāpa*
*Æja pajjinad keralliyaw*
*Æja pajjinad keralliyaw.*

*Tan pajjinad pajjindad*
*Tinda pappilan pajjindad*
A dove of the *Kapuru-kandi* (lit. camphor mountain) is crying *kejaran, kejaran.* No one has cakes. Eat some grain.

The last three songs are evidently variants of a common theme, or perhaps of a number of common themes, for they suggest that they consist of a number of fragments strung together with little regard for their meaning. They were certainly sung for the pleasure they afforded, and perhaps the incongruity of the subjects alluded to and the abrupt way in which they are introduced amuses the audience. Nevill collected variants of fragments of these songs in the Bintenne which he definitely regards as comic.

The following is the first of these fragments:

*Kukuru giya dewa nagili*
*Ekat kodi gana wanili*

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[1] Literally "the birds are uttering *ailiili*," the last word being onomatopoeic. Mr Parker, to whom we are indebted for the translation of this song, is uncertain of the meaning of the third and fourth lines; perhaps they might be translated "There was a noise of water; we made [illegible]."

*Dūwan wädden ärilā*
*Mūmini mūmini nā nā mūyi.*

Having run and climbed up the *kukuru* tree
That breaking having fallen,
Having stuck in the mud up to the knee,
*Mūmini mūmini nā nā mūyi.*

Nevill regards this as a "take off of the hymns sung by the celebrant when inspired in the worship of Kiri Amma, a Vedda form of Venus, Pattini, Parvati, or Amman," and he states that the "refrain is that actually used in her honour." Further "the *kukuru* tree is a prickly bush, up which no one could think of climbing, and the utter nonsense is a ridiculous parody on the hymn."

The following is given as comic by the same authority, who draws attention to "both *pata pata* and *danni panni*," being expressions coined from the sound of a heavy body falling whop, whop, or flop, flop, and pulling itself up slowly and with pain.

*Kukuru handa nægilā*
*Pata pata gē gana waetilā*
*Danni panni gēla nægitala*
*Tēn nan tadi tadi tā nā nā.*

XVII. *Ayyō nāmage dātē walalu gigiri dena naḍa daddayi kiri nāmē*
*Nāmage baddaṭa icuna gēmara paliwan gēmara icilā*
*Nāmage baddaṭa icuna gēmara mayo bandat icīyō*
*Nāmaṭa baddaṭa papimala ayiyō pot pape baḍā waicenā*
*Nanaṭa wiyaṭa padura ayiyō bepin rapā warīga*
*Kadiramalli barāli wiyani nangiyat wiyan damanni*
*Ætul wiyan damanni bala ætul wiyan no danna nānā*
*Pipt wiyan damanni ela wina panan wina ennew nānā*
*Cappi cili bili hiyanni yannaṭa nidikimidiya nānā*
*Oyi hajala wacci arwidin nāndage paduraṭa wirwanla.*

Good wife! Oh what a noise the jingling bells of the bracelet on the two hands of yours (lit. of wife) are making! There are (lit. spread) *gamara* spots (on my body) resembling the *gamara* spots on (lit. spread on) my wife's waist. The *gamara* spots which are (lit. spread) on (my) wife's waist (are) spread on my waist also. Oh! the thickened honey of the honey packet made up (lit. tied up) for (my) wife is dripping. Oh! the coloured stripes of the mat woven for (my) wife are gone straight. A canopy is tied to Kadiramalli. The younger sister is also putting up canopies. She is

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putting up inner canopies. Oh wife! do not put up inner canopies. She is putting up outer canopies. Wife, bring white canopies and leaf canopies. The birds are chirping[1]. Wife, rise up from sleep to go. The calves (or oxen) having come after playing in the river went to (my) mother-in-law's[2] hut.

The last song was collected at Unuwatura Bubula.

XVIII. (1) *Andā diya dewana māwili gaṅgāwē*
*Sorabora wilē wilpatulen enawādo*
*Atat damā dekaha ena surētuwā*
*Sālā pitawala yak gammal*
*Sālā pitawala wahē wahalā bora waturayi*

(2) *Bimin yanna bari nam*
*Wadanā mīmata lanu bandapan*
*Ten tedinā*
*Aṅgara natun natannā*
*Sellan bera pada gasāpan.*

(1) Oh Māwili river! whose water is flowing, making a sound! Are you coming from the bottom of the lake Soraborawila? Oh lover! who comes in two directions, having put (your) hand also (round her neck). There has been *yaka* ceremony at Salapitawala. It having rained, there is muddy water at Salapitawala.

(2) If you cannot go walking (lit. on the ground) put the ropes on the hunting buffalo.
*Ten tedinā*
They are dancing gesture dances[3].
Play a tune on the drum (used) for games.

This song very clearly shows the composite nature of some of the Vedda songs, especially those in use among the more sophisticated groups. The first two lines of the first verse and the last two lines of the second verse are obviously related to, if they are not derived from, the invocation sung at the *Kolamaduwa* ceremony (Chapter X, No. XXXIX), while the first two lines of the last verse refer to harnessing a buffalo as in the preceding songs.

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[1] Lit. uttering *sibbili*.

[2] [*Nanda* presumably for *nanda* from *nandamma* a paternal aunt or maternal uncle's wife, hence mother-in-law, cf. pp. 64 and 65.]

[3] We are indebted to Mr Parker for the following note. "*Angara natun natanne* may be 'dancing gesture-dances' or 'dances of gesture-dances.' *Angaraya* is stated by Clough to be 'gesture,' the particular gesture of the Malabar dancing girls."

# CHAPTER XV

## LANGUAGE

197 MR PARKER remarks of the Vedda language that it "is to a great extent the colloquial Sinhalese tongue, but it is slightly changed in form and accent. Yet closely as it resembles the latter, these differences and the manner in which it is pronounced render it quite an unknown language when it is spoken to one who has not a special acquaintance with it. Besides this, the Vaeddas use their own terms for the wild animals and some other things about which they often find it necessary to converse. Such words are usually a form of Sinhalese, or admit of Sinhalese or Tamil derivations; but a very few may possibly belong to, or be a modification of words in, their own original language, forming with perhaps a few forms of grammatical expression the only remains of it that have been preserved, with the exception of some doubtful terms found in Sinhalese[1]."

The view taken by Mr Parker concerning the Sinhalese language, though not quite generally accepted, is that held by Geiger, who considers Sinhalese "a pure Aryan dialect," although it contains some words for which he "can find no Aryan origin"; there are, however, "fewer non-Aryan loan words in Sinhalese than there are non-Germanic words in English[2]." In this and the following chapter Geiger's view will be assumed to be correct and we shall deal with the so-called Vedda language, which is but a dialect of

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[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 113.

[2] The quotations from Geiger are taken from pp. 86, 87 and 88 of his *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* published in 1900 in Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*.

[p. 380]

Sinhalese, as a foreign language which the Veddas long ago 197
adopted in the place of their own.

The obvious phonetic changes from the Sinhalese which we 194
noted in the Vedda dialect were the substitution for the sibilant "s" of the palatal "ch" which though generally retained might be thrown out, thus "head" Sin. *isa* becomes in the Vedda dialect *iya* or sometimes *icha*, and *gas* the Sinhalese word for "tree" becomes *gai* or *gayi* in Vedda. There may be other phonetic changes which an expert linguist would detect, but certainly the substitution of "ch" for "s" is the change which gives its characteristic harsh quality to the Vedda dialect.

A number of authors have published short lists of Vedda 114
words, that given by the Sarasins being of most importance, for although it consists of only 22 words care is taken to indicate the equivalent in use in each of the Vedda groups visited by the authors. More complete vocabularies have been collected by Bailey and Nevill, and vocabularies have also been published by two native scholars. One of these, who wrote under the *nom-de-plume*
A. J. W., Batticaloa, has published his material in a somewhat [113]
inaccessible periodical, the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Vol. v, 1891). His information, which includes a number of sentences and lullabies, has evidently been carefully collected and would probably be specially useful to Sinhalese and Sanskrit scholars. Its great defect is that no mention is made of the places where the information was obtained, or the conditions prevailing when it was collected[1].

Mr A. J. W. Marrambe's publication entitled *The Vedda* [113]
*Language* and apparently printed at Colombo in 1893 which contains some Vedda invocations is of less value, for while it suffers from the same defects it does not appear to have been prepared with the care which characterises the vocabulary in the *Literary Register*[1].

An important if indirect contribution to the study of the Vedda language has recently been made by Mr Parker, who, in *Ancient Ceylon*, gives in parallel columns Nevill's Vedda vocabulary and the equivalents of these words in the Kaelebasa

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[1] The identity of initials suggests that the two accounts may be by one author.

114 language, collected by himself during his long sojourn in Ceylon; and to this we shall return later.

The Vedda words for the most important animals with which 192 they are brought in contact which are given in the vocabulary at the end of this volume indicate that nouns and verbs in the Vedda dialect are largely formed by periphrasis. It may be urged that in certain cases this is done for the same reason that the common names of animals are avoided in all hunting languages, and doubtless this explains why the bear is commonly spoken of as *hatera* "the enemy[1]," but it will not account for one of the words for "smoke" being "that which goes from the fire when wet," or "to bring" being "to come having taken things" or for "wind" being "that which causes the stems of trees to break." Mr Parker informs us that the expression "having taken, come," for "bring" is common in Sinhalese, while Dr L. D. Barnett, whom we have consulted on the subject of periphrases, writes that "compound actions" are often expressed by paraphrase, thus the Hindi for "bring" is *le dana*, i.e. "taking give," and "depart" is *nikal jana*, i.e. "issuing go." These examples show that there is nothing peculiar or specially significant in the existence in the Vedda dialect of such periphrasis for "bring" as that given above.

Such expressions might be survivals from a time when the Vedda vocabulary was limited, when quick precision was unnecessary or at least had not been attained, and when all ideas, except the simplest, were necessarily expressed in a roundabout fashion and generally helped out by gesture. We allude in Chapter XVI to the absolute impossibility of making even such an intelligent man as Handuna of Sitala Wanniya realise the difference between a number of periods of time all shorter than a day, and in the same chapter we point out that the older generation of unsophisticated Veddas count only by saying

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[1] At Sitala Wanniya we were told that the word *[illegible]* might be used for "bear" without danger when the animal was at a distance, but that *hatera* should be used if the animal were known or suspected to be close. Here too the word *[illegible]* was used for elephant avowedly to prevent these animals hearing their name and coming near. *Hatera* should be written *hatara*, but as we never heard any Vedda pronounce this word otherwise than *hatera*, we use this spelling throughout.

"one" and "one" and "one," so that the suggestion we make need not necessarily be taken to carry back the formation of the Vedda dialect to remote antiquity.

Further the use of periphrases is common in Sinhalese and other languages closely related to Sanskrit.

We are indebted to Dr Barnett (who tells us that the list could be greatly extended without difficulty) for the following examples of Sanskrit periphrases, many of which occur in Sinhalese in unmodified or only slightly modified forms:

*dvīpi* leopard, lit. "spotted."
*dvirepha* bee, lit. "double R-sound."
*hutāśana* fire, lit. "devouring libations."
*hutavāhana* fire, lit. "conveying libations."
*kari* elephant, lit. "animal with a hand."
*kṛishṇamārga* fire, lit. "having a black path" (Sin. *kinamaga*).
*pādapa* tree, lit. "drinking with the feet."
*parapushṭa* cuckoo, lit. "nurtured by a stranger" (Sin. *parapuṭu*).
*pārāvata* dove, lit. "belonging to distant lands" (Sin. *parevi*).
*śākhāmṛiga* monkey or squirrel, lit. "branch-deer."
*shaṭpada* bee, lit. "six-legged" (Sin. *sapada*).

Even at the present day the vocabulary of the peasant Sinhalese is not a large one, and if from this there were taken away all ceremonial and agricultural terms, and those directly or indirectly due to European influence, it would, we believe, be surprisingly small. It is reasonable to suppose that it was no bigger centuries ago. It is therefore not surprising that the dialect which was formed by the Veddas from this vocabulary and took the place of their old language, adopted only a small number of words suitable to their jungle life, and so prepared the way for the use of large numbers of periphrases even if it did not at first necessitate their formation[1]."

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[1] Perhaps the position of the Veddas linguistically at the time of the change may be compared to the position of the inhabitants of certain Melanesian Islands of the Pacific, where not only has a degraded English with an extremely limited vocabulary become the medium of communication between White and Black and between different native tribes, but the islanders in some instances when speaking to foreigners

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Although Dr Barnett considers that many of the Vedda periphrases seem to point primarily to a low level of culture, and although we believe that we should do wrong to ignore the influence of some such process as that which we have sketched, we think it probable that many of the expressions in the Vedda language (so called) arose as the result of a deliberate effort to mystify.

At the time when the Veddas began to use Sinhalese as their habitual mode of communication they would find it convenient, if not absolutely necessary, to be able to discuss matters between themselves in the presence of Sinhalese, especially Sinhalese traders, without allowing the latter to understand what they were saying. This necessity would naturally lead them to invent periphrases and onomatopoeic words while it would encourage mispronunciation and the use of archaic forms.

Further evidence in favour of this view may be gathered from other Indian tribes and even from the Veddas themselves. Dr Rivers found that the Todas have a secret language which "consists of a large number of expressions which they use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others, when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally 'stolen we tie,' while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or 'front fact[1].'"

Thus "cook food in milk" which in the ordinary language is *pürs üdr* literally "milk cook" becomes in the secret language

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who have acquired some knowledge of their tongue purposely use simplified and incomplete grammatical forms.

Mr Parker remarks that our statement concerning the vocabulary of the present Sinhalese is valid only so far as it applies to their ordinary conversation in which they use "a simple and limited" vocabulary, but that in working through his large collection of Folk-tales he found that "the vocabulary of the villagers was a very extensive one."

[1] *The Todas*, p. 616.

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*menak udr pud mádu tarsk idsht* literally "four sides come three on up put," i.e. "put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones which support the cooking pot)." Further the leg may be called *metepol* "walk thing," also used for foot-prints, or *pólowi álar pi pol* "thing that goes into the earth," while many other things have secret names; thus butter is called *polthpol* "white thing" and clarified butter *kárripol* "melted thing."

All this seems to indicate that the so-called Vedda dialect arose, at least in part, as a deliberately invented secret language, and this view is supported by an anecdote told by Nevill which shows that even at the present time the formation of periphrases and the use of onomatopoeic words comes readily to the older Veddas, allowing them to communicate with their fellows in the presence of Sinhalese without using the ordinary words.

An old Vedda who died before 1886 was "fond of encouraging the others to learn a patois which strangers could not understand, and used to illustrate its use by a story of his being overtaken by a party of pilgrims to Katragam, who insisted on his accompanying them as guide some distance. A lad, partly a Vaedda, was with him. On the way they heard a deer give the peculiar bleating cry made when they are seized by a leopard. Seeing his companions did not understand it, he went on, and entering into conversation with the boy, sent him away, saying loudly and rapidly so as not to excite suspicion, Bûs kí bâs kí adina atak gena at baruwak gena pimbina atak gena, thopa ammât appât enda kiyâpa. This means, "Bûs was said, bâs was said, bringing the bow, axe and fire-stick, tell your mother and father to come." Here the bow is called the "pulling-bough," the axe is called the "bough heavy" or "heavy in the hand," and the fire-stick, the "blowing bough," in allusion to the blowing of the spark into a flame. *Bûs* imitates the snort of the leopard as it springs on the deer, and *bâs* the cry of the deer. The old man delighted to tell this tale, showing his own wit, and would then say "and because the boy knew huntsman's craft and how to speak aloud but secretly, he slipped away and called his parents. I went back as soon as I could, and we all had a grand feast, for the leopard had not time to eat much before the boy's parents were there[1]."

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[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. I, p. 181.

192 At Sitala Wanniya we learnt for the first time that two classes of words could be distinguished in the Vedda dialect. Words of the first class are commonly employed by the Veddas among themselves or their use is compulsory when hunting or travelling in the jungle; the second class contains words which are used only in invoking the *yaku*.

The monitor lizard commonly called *munda* becomes in the *yaka* language *bimbada gancha*, "one whose belly touches the ground"; the pig *dola* is called *hossadika*; the spotted deer *gemberupodiya* is called *depatam magula*; the sambar *hankuna* becomes *gaura magula*; and the wandura monkey *botakana* is called *ude helina*.

These were the only animals which were given *yaka* names at Sitala Wanniya, but betel leaves, usually known as *pangiri kola*, coconut milk *polikiri* and rice *depatulu* all used in offerings to the *yaku* are spoken of on these occasions as *nilikola*, literally "dark leaves," *ran kiri dalua* "golden bud milk" and *kudu hamba* from *sudu sambā*, lit. "white rice," respectively[1].

Probably all the wilder Veddas at one time used special words when addressing the *yaku*, for even at Rerenkadi among the sophisticated Veddas of the chena settlement we heard of the former existence of a *yaka* vocabulary, while at Lindegala the few words of the Vedda dialect that were still remembered were said to have been used especially in *yaku* ceremonies[2].

At Sitala Wanniya we obtained the expressions *yakada heremitiya*, literally "iron walking staff," for boy, and *hunuhunu kilote*, "box for lime" or "lime eating box," for girl. We were not able to satisfy ourselves as to the significance of these metaphors, which were said to be used only in *yaku* ceremonies. According to one account the expression refers to the genitals of the sexes, another explanation states that a boy is a strong support to his relatives, while a girl is as precious as a supply of chewing materials.

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197 The hypothesis that the Vedda language arose in part as a secret language explains how it is that at the present day the

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[1] *Sambā* is the name of a superior variety of rice.

[2] Nilgala, Bendiyagalge and Bandaraduwa were all visited before Sitala Wanniya where we discovered the existence of a *yaka* vocabulary, and no questions especially bearing on this matter were asked at these places.

Vedda dialect is best preserved among the Village Veddas of Bintenne. 198 197

The people of Dambani and Bulugahaladena whose condition we have described in Chapter II and whom we have specially in mind as typical Veddas of the Bintenne are precisely in that stage of development in which a secret language would be most useful. They do not lead, and apparently have not for a considerable number of generations led the wandering life which until recently characterised the Veddas living further to the east, nor on the other hand do they even now show any tendency to be absorbed by the peasant Sinhalese of the province in which they live. They in fact constitute small autonomous communities enjoying considerable prestige in the eyes of their neighbours both on account of their ancestry and their reputed fierceness. Not only is their dialect directly useful to them in their trading with the neighbouring Sinhalese, but as we soon discovered their use of what their neighbours consider a language different from their own greatly enhances their prestige.

They have thus had a motive for keeping up if not for enlarging their store of periphrases and metaphors which probably never existed among the wilder, less sophisticated Veddas, who only preserve the old names of certain animals or foods which are used in *yaku* ceremonies or which have become part of their jungle language.

From this point of view we may detect three stages in the evolution of the present Vedda dialect. In the *first* stage their original language is effaced by an archaic form of the Sinhalese; the formation from this of a large number of secret words constitutes the second stage, while the third stage is represented by the process of substitution of more or less modern and colloquial Sinhalese words for the majority of archaic words and forms, during which process many of the modern words underwent phonetic changes.

The following sentences taken down from men of Bulugahaladena show the characteristics of the Vedda dialect as it survives among the Village Veddas of Bintenne. The notes given after each sentence have been supplied by Mr Gunasekara, the sentences themselves are written down in the form in which 192

192 we gave them (in English) to our interpreter. We have no doubt that he translated them literally into Sinhalese, so that not only the building up of the sentences but also the repetitions and inaccuracies in the Vedda dialect are of interest.

Come here quickly.

*Ham hanikete mangampte.*

*Hanikete* is from the Sinhalese *hapikeja* quickly.

This axe belongs to me.

*Me gulvala maieme.*

*Me* is Sinhalese *maieme* from Sinhalese *mayitma*, *magitma* my own.

We two have come from Bulugahaladena.

*Kakulai mai manganame Bulugahaladening.*

*Kakula*, child, boy, then *kakulai mai* the child and I, the final *i* of each word is the equivalent of the Sinhalese *yi* (colloq.) and *i*: *Mai* from the Sinhalese *mamayi*; *-ing -in* the ablative case ending. The finite verb in Sinhalese is placed last in the sentence.

Bring your bow and arrow.

*Malalipai maranai arang mangampte.*

*Maranai* is a shortened form of *mariandaa* arrow. *Arang* the equivalent of the Sinhalese *aran* having taken. The literal translation of this sentence would be "Having taken bow and arrow come."

This wood is wet, I cannot make fire.

*Me danda diapodge mandirula gina unna bada.*

*Diapodge mandirula* "water being absorbed" or "being surrounded by water" (Sk. *mand* or *mand*).

*Unna* from Sanskrit *ush* to burn: *Me* and *danda* are Sinhalese.

He climbed a tree to find a bees' nest.

*Kanda arini patagamma rike pinal nagigi.*

*Patagamma* is to begin and not to find; *pinal nagigi* is the equivalent of the Sinhalese *panna nagga*, literally he jumped and ascended.

But the branch was rotten and he fell.

*Eka dira baada patagamma palage.*

*Eka*, Sinhalese it; there is no word for branch; *dira* having been rotten; *baada* Sinhalese *pahala* down; *palage* he fell (Sanskrit *pat* to fall) or he jumped (Sanskrit *pla* to jump).

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There are no bananas in my chena, but much Indian corn.

*Mai kempodgu puwawuna kouriana tomak tomak tibinya kehelpodgu hodai.*

*Mai* Sinhalese *mehi* here; *kempodgu* is the Sinhalese *hēna*, i.e. chena; *puwawuna* having been burnt; *kouriana* Indian corn (?); *tomak tomak* little little, some.

Literally translated the sentence runs "Here the chena having been burnt (i.e. prepared in the usual manner) there is some Indian corn, there are no bananas."

He killed the sambar and dried its flesh over the fire.

*Kandura patagawala ginawala puwahadala kevilenye.*

*Patagawala* being killed; *ginawala* having made a fire (Sinhalese *gini awawala*); *puwahadala* having burnt; *kevilenye* he eats.

Literally "The sambar being killed, having made a fire (and) having burnt (its flesh) he eats."

When a man is dead we go away from that cave.

*Mini betadammana pata mang wenahette mangnawana ona.*

*Pata* is the Sinhalese *vela* when; *mang* is the Sinhalese *mama* I; *wenahette* is from the Sinhalese *wenataka*, to another quarter; *ona* is the Sinhalese *ōne*, ought, must.

Literally "When a man is dead I must go to another quarter."

The dog scents a deer.

*Kuka pakaragandidekete mangnanaye.*

*Pakaragandidekete* to smell good.

Literally this would be translated somewhat as follows: "The dog moves after a good smell."

Which is the road to Dambani?

*Dambanete mangnawana mangpodguk kohede.*

*Mangpodguk* a road is derived from *mawa* Sinhalese *maga* road and *podguk*.

Although we are unable to offer any opinion as to the precise age of the Vedda dialect there is no doubt that it is at least of respectable antiquity. Geiger (*op. cit.* p. 89), while admitting that the material at his disposal is insufficient to allow him to give "a full picture of the dialect," considers "beyond dispute" that it contains "an archaic element" and he cites the verb p. *gacchati* which in the Vedda dialect exists in the form *gawana*.

192 whereas only the gerund *gos* occurs in Sinhalese[1]. Nevill writes of the Vedda dialect as being "largely identical with the old Sinhalese now called Elu."

This carries its formation back some hundreds of years; and whether Nevill's statement is literally correct or not the archaic forms and incomprehensible expressions preserved in the invocations given in Chapter X show that the Vedda dialect arose at least some centuries ago[2].

Our Vedda vocabularies contain a few of the non-Aryan words of unknown origin which are noted by Geiger as occurring in Sinhalese such as *kola* leaf, *kaas* coconut (in composition in the form *kaasgengediya*) and *rilewa* monkey. They contain a far larger number of Aryan words which Mr Gunasekara considers are not Sinhalese, or contain a non-Sinhalese element.

Such words are: *agudya* mouse deer, *baasharaa* monkey, *bepatto* breast, *bota* man, *botadamanya* to kill, to die, *botakolola* elephant, *doolo* lightning, *dondo* monkey, *enanenmana* to strike, *enomukalapa* to ask, *gabiaci* iron, *gulehapa* to fall, *hadira* bat, *haeriya* bear, *katamanye* to speak, *kiho* a small lizard, *lohacunana* to strike, *lungunanana* to make, *lombo* axis deer, *mombuda* tortoise, *mangunanana* to come or to go, *mola* elephant, *odama* buffalo, *pakaragunde ganye* and *puchano ganye* to smell, *pakerevila* bed, *pisiawi* dance, *pitaguna* crocodile, *rukka* squirrel, *sakalova* sun, *sambala* axe, *sil pewe nali* rain, *taakkiya* axe, *teli* honey comb, *yamade* areca cutter[3].

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[1] Mr Parker writes: "I do not feel sure that *gamana* is derived from the Pali word *gacchati*, to go. There is a general absence of Pali derivatives in the Vaedda dialect. When used to express 'to go' or 'to come,' the word is always *mangacçana*, in which *mana* is of course 'road,' the Sinhalese *mahga*; this word would be unnecessary if *gamana* meant 'to go.' It seems not unlikely that the word is *gasana*, 'to strike,' which in Sinhalese has several meanings when combined with other words, as in *adidegasanava*, 'to call,' and *deja-gahanava*, 'to pluck off [illegible].'"

[2] Mr Parker writes: "I think that the earlier forms of Vaedda words are of a later type than those of the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries A.D., and partly for this reason I used the expression 'some centuries after Christ,' quoted by you on page [illegible], without attempting to fix any date."

[3] Reference to the vocabulary at the end of the book will show that a number of these words are closely allied to Sinhalese words, while some appear to be corruptions of the latter. We are indebted to Dr Barnett for pointing out that *doolo* is derived from the Sinhalese *vidduliya* (Prakrit *vijjulikaya*) while it seems reasonable to derive "man" *bota* from the Sinhalese *puta* which has itself been adopted from Tamil.

Mr Gunasekara's opinion as to the origin and relationship of these words will be found in the vocabulary at the end of the volume, where we also give his explanation of the many periphrases we collected[1]. 192

We may refer here to the use of the affix *-pojo* which the Veddas join to many nouns, thus "blood" is called *lepojo* and the sun *irapojo*. Inquiries made from Veddas and peasant Sinhalese failed to suggest any origin for this affix, which can scarcely be connected with the Sinhalese words *podde* and *poda* "little," "little thing" as was suggested by some of our Sinhalese informants. We therefore fall back upon a suggestion made to us by Mr Gunasekara that *pojo* is a corruption of Sanskrit *pudgala* (P. *puggala*) "individual," "body," "matter," "personal identity." If this explanation is correct then *lipojo* is the equivalent of "the individual or thing (called) *le* blood," *irapojo* of "the individual or thing (called) *ira* sun," *hulampojo* of "the individual or thing (called) *hulan* wind." The use of this word may have been found convenient when a foreign word was adopted by the Veddas, to make it clear that the borrowed word referred to a concrete object. Later, when the new word had become universally intelligible and was firmly established in the Vedda dialect, *pojo* must have been gradually dropped from a great number of nouns, and this doubtless is probably the reason why at present *pojo* is affixed only to a minority of words, and while commonly used by some Veddas is scarcely heard in other communities. This view is supported by Mr Gunasekara's remark that *pudgala* has been used by the Sinhalese in the sense of "person" (individual), though he considers that its use as an affix to a considerable number of nouns is a purely Vedda feature. 193

Mr Parker suggests that there may be more than one origin for *-pojo* as used by the Veddas, "thus, *lipojo* might be *lipoda*, drop of blood. There is also a Sinhalese word *pojil* (Skt. *prajil*)

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[1] It is extremely probable that some of the words in this list may be derived from Tamil, the following being suggestions for which we are indebted to Mr Parker: *ebud* buffalo, T. *erumai* a bull, ox or cow; *atili* elephant, T. *anigi* a [illegible] beast; *kaujal* bear, T. *kari* black and *ulé* one; *mi* honey comb, cf. T. *mijil* hole, perforation, tube; *rotuhami* sun, cf. T. *suttaram* a circle, disk, wheel (Sk. *cakra*); *kodi* monkey, cf. T. *koppe* slave; *ruddil*, Sin. *ruk* tree and *ili* one, i.e. "the tree one."

193 creature, one meaning of the Sanskrit word being 'designating,' 'indicating.'"

The occurrence of a large number of the non-Sinhalese Aryan 192 words in the Vedda vocabulary seems to us of considerable 197 importance. Many of these words are derived or borrowed from the Hindi and Marathi languages or from Sanskrit words which according to Mr Gunasekara "are seldom or never used in the Sinhalese language."

This implies that these languages must at one time have materially contributed to the formation of Sinhalese, and if it could be determined at what period they had passed into the vulgar tongue in Ceylon, this would give us the earliest date at which the Veddas could have adopted Sinhalese.

197 At present this seems impossible, but valuable suggestions concerning the period or periods at which the northern influence was exerted may perhaps be gathered from the age of the Sinhalese folk-tales of Northern origin collected by Mr Parker from districts in the interior of the Island "where story-books in Sinhalese, Tamil, or Arabic do not appear to have penetrated, and English is unknown by the villagers." This quotation as well as those which follow are taken from the introduction (pp. 37 and 38) to Mr Parker's recent volume *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*. Mr Parker, after referring to stories due to immigrants from South India, writes as follows concerning those which he considers were brought in by "settlers from the Ganges valley, or near it.

"With regard to the latter, it is not probable that they consisted only of the early immigrants of pre-Christian times. King Niśśanka-Malla, who reigned from 1198 to 1207 A.D., has recorded in his inscriptions that he was a native of Sinhapura, then apparently the capital of the Kālinga kingdom, which extended far down the east coast of India, southward from the lower part of the Ganges valley; and he and his chief Queen Subhadrā, a Kālinga Princess, must have brought into Ceylon many of their fellow-countrymen. The Queens of two other earlier Kings of Ceylon were also Princesses from Kālinga.

"In the Galpota inscription at Polannaruwa (Prof. E. Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 148), he stated that "invited by the King [Parākrama-Bāhu I], who was his senior kinsman, to come and reign over his hereditary kingdom of Lakdiva [Ceylon]. Vīra Nissanka-Malla landed with a great retinue in Lankā" [Ceylon]. Further on in the same inscription he stated that "he sent to the country of Kālinga, and caused many Princesses of the Soma and Sūrya races to be brought hither. 197

"A connexion with the Kālinga kingdom seems to have been maintained from early times. In his inscriptions the same king claimed that the sovereignty of Ceylon belonged by right to the Kālinga dynasty. He described himself in his Dambulla inscription (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 143) as "the liege lord of Lakdiva by right of birth, deriving descent from the race of King Wijaya," the first king of Ceylon, who, according to the Sinhalese historical works, was also born at a town called Sinhapura, which is stated to have been founded by his father. In the Galpota inscription we read of "Princes of the Kālinga race to whom the island of Lankā has been peculiarly appropriate since the reign of Wijaya."

As we have already stated in Chapter I the story of Wijaya indicates that there was frequent communication between Ceylon and Indian ports; we may now refer to the Mahawansa, in which, as Mr Parker remarks, "there is a definite and credible statement that vessels sailed direct from it [the port of Tāmalitta] to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka in the third century B.C.[1]"

The respectable, if not the extreme antiquity of the Vedda vocabulary is supported by the existence of a few words retaining their common meaning in Vedda and the *kaalebasa* language. Although Mr Parker does not explain the origin of the words in the *kaalebasa* list published in *Ancient Ceylon*, he has given the derivation of a considerable number of words occurring in the *kaalebasa* of Northern Ceylon in the *Taprobanian* (Vol. II, pp. 15—21), in which he discusses the origin and age of the language. Accepting his conclusions "that many of these forms are very ancient;—that they are, in fact, probably survivals from an ancient dialect which was once spoken throughout a 192 197

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[1] *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, p. 42. The voyage from Tamalitta to Ceylon is mentioned in the *Mahawansa* on page 46. Another voyage from the same port, when the Bo-tree cutting was conveyed to Ceylon, is described on pp. 74, 75. Tamalitta is thought to have occupied the site of the modern Tamluk at the mouth of the Hoogly.

192 great part of the island," the occurrence of such names in Vedda and *kaelebass* as *manda* (or *munda*) for the monitor lizard (Sin. *goya*), 197 and of *marulu* (from *maraka* a destroyer, a hawk, and *loku* great) for the Brahminy kite (Sin. *ukussa*), shows that the Vedda dialect was formed at least as long ago as that period when the Sinhalese were driven out of the Northern Province by the Tamils[1].

A single Vedda word *sappi* or *cappi* bird closely resembles the Sakai word *ciap*, *cap* or *cep*; in spite of the relationship recognised by some as existing between the Veddas and Sakai we hold this similarity to be of no significance, both words probably being onomatopoeic[2].

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[1] Referring especially to the Wanniya "a race of hunters" who reside in small villages of badly built houses in the northern part of the North Central Province, extending from Padawiya to Tantrimalei, and who use a number of *kaelebass* words, Mr Parker writes (*op. cit.* p. 18): "Like the hunters of the North-Western and North-Central Provinces, the Wanniyas make use of the remnants of a special dialect when engaged on their forest expeditions, under the belief that its employment tends to preserve them from wild animals, and to render them successful in their search for honey and meat. This dialect is known as the 'kaelebasa,' jungle language, and the Wanniyas themselves speak only a very few words of it. Other fragments are to be met with among Sinhalese throughout all Northern Ceylon. That these words originally formed part of one language is to be inferred from the fact that not more than a few of the forms which present the most ancient appearance can be specially selected as peculiar to a certain district. In one village, or a group of villages, a few are known; in another, some of the same words and a few others; while some of the words which are used at Padawiya are not only well-known in the North-Western Province, but are even used upon similar occasions in Southern and Eastern Ceylon. Some of them are also among the threshing-floor vocabulary, and a smaller number are employed by Waeddas." Again on page 20 we read: "So far as this language is concerned, it may be concluded that the Wanniyas are, as they state, Sinhalese. Taking into consideration the facts that they are found only on or near the northern borders of the Kandian Kingdom, that they (or at any rate such of them as I have met) speak Tamil, and that some of them have Tamil names, and also remembering the particulars which I have given regarding their religion, it may further be inferred that, as their name would seem to indicate, they form a remnant of the ancient Sinhalese inhabitants of what is now the Northern Province. Throughout the whole of this district, extending, in fact, within a few miles of Elephant's Pass, there are abundant proofs that it was once peopled largely by Sinhalese; yet it is doubtful if any other distinct descendants of the former occupants can now be found. The rest of the Sinhalese population may perhaps have almost completely died out, for the inhabitants of the Sinhalese villages in the southern parts of the Province are, with very few exceptions, comparatively recent settlers who have migrated during this century from the North-Central districts."

[2] Mr Gunasekara while not denying that *sappi* may be onomatopoeic suggests that it may have arisen as a corruption of the Sanskrit word *pakshi* bird. Mr Parker considers that this word is derived from the Tamil *kruppi* (pronounced *koruppi*) a fly eater or bee-eater, from *sappu* to chew.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE SENSES OF THE VEDDAS

THE extraordinary skill displayed by the Veddas in discovering game and honey led us to test their senses as far as the time at our disposal would allow. 151 Before recording the results of these tests in detail we may state the impression produced by certain incidents of our intercourse with the Veddas. We several times had Vedda guides and invariably noticed that, however difficult the ground, they walked quickly [481] and noiselessly without apparently paying any attention to their footsteps. Nor did they ever seem even momentarily at a loss as to the direction to take in order to reach any part of their territory, in spite of the absence of obvious tracks. We do not think that they depended to any considerable extent on the sun; indeed, the conditions under which our most striking experience of this kind took place puts that out of the question. We left our camp at Sitala Wanniya early one morning with Handuna and his son-in-law Kaira to walk to a cave which proved to be about four miles distant. Our course lay through dense jungle, it rained intermittently and the glimpses of the sky which we obtained showed that it was completely overcast during the whole of the time. There was no sign of a track, and except once for about a couple of hundred yards we did not follow any stream though we crossed several. Nevertheless Handuna led us at a rapid walk straight up to the rock shelter which was our destination. This faculty is shared by another people inhabiting Ceylon, the Wanniya, the inhabitants of the Wanni, a large forest tract in the North Central Province. The life led by these hunters in some respects resembles that of the

151 Veddas, for they depend largely on game and honey for their
subsistence and like the Veddas are bow-men. Mr Parker, who
has spent much time in the Wanni, gives an account of a journey
151 he made guided by Wanniya which is so interesting that we
171 quote it at length.

"I was taken by some Wanniyas through a piece of wild pathless forest ten or eleven miles across, near Padawiya tank, at the north-eastern boundary of the North-Central Province. The jungle was dense, and the journey therefore occupied all day. Of course we were unable to proceed in a straight line, and more than once we deviated into a right-angle from our proper direction in order to avoid thorny jungle that was said to be in front of us. At about one o'clock we came to a high rock, as they had promised, on the top of which good rain water is always retained in a hollow. There we cooked and ate some food, after which we resumed our tramp. In the middle of the forest, as we were proceeding along a deer-track, one of the men drew my attention to a half-broken twig hanging at the side of the path. 'I broke that two years ago,' he said; he was then proceeding at a right-angle from the line we were taking.

"When I asked him if he never lost his way in such thick forest, full of undergrowth, he at first could not understand my meaning. After I had explained it—feeling while doing so that I was making an interesting exhibition of my ignorance—he laughed consumedly and thought it a capital joke. 'How *can* one lose it?' he said. He had never heard of such a thing before; to him it appeared to be quite impossible, apparently as much so as getting lost in an open field would be to us. 'When we look at the sun we always know which way to go,' he remarked. The men justified my confidence in their powers by emerging, just before dusk, at the very spot where I wished to arrive, many miles from the homes of any of the party. Those who had acted as guides lived some twelve miles or more away, by the nearest footpath; and the house of the man who lived nearest was five miles from the point where we left the forest. I have always thought it a very clever feat[1]."

Mr Parker's account of the jungle craft of the Wanniya is so vivid and applies so thoroughly to the progress of the Veddas through the jungle that we again quote from his work. 151 171

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[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 77, 78.

"While engaged on a hunting expedition, these hunters [the Wanniya]...glide along in single file, avoiding every leafy twig the rustling of which might betray their presence, or if game be near holding it until the next man can take charge of it, and hand it over in the same manner to the man behind him. At such times all tread in the footprints of the first man, who when putting his foot on the ground first glides his toes along it in order to push aside any twigs or leaves that might emit a noise if crushed. Their eyes and ears are fully alert to catch the slightest sound or movement among the thick jungle around them....They hear sounds and see objects that to a person whose perception is dulled by civilisation might as well be altogether absent, so far as his power of observation is concerned. Their trained ears detect the footfall of the wild forest animals walking through the jungle at considerable distances away, and can distinguish even the species by means of the sound, which is quite inaudible to less experienced observers. If any uncertainty exists regarding it they crouch down, or kneel with one ear on the ground, and soon clear up their doubts. When they are in search of Deer or other animals with keen sight, they hide their cloth by hanging leafy twigs round their waist-string. This certainly gives them a very wild appearance, but there is no trustworthy evidence to show that it was the primitive dress of the aborigines of Ceylon.

"Wild honey being one of their favourite foods, their vision and hearing are trained to an astonishing quickness in detecting every Bee that flies across their path, and noting its species, and whether it is flying laden or is only in quest of food. When it is carrying a load of honey and flying straight through the trees, they at once move off in the same direction, if it be the season in which the hives contain honey, that is, August and September, knowing of course that the laden insect makes a direct flight to its hive—the proverbial bee-line. As the nest is approached other Bees are seen converging towards it, and in a few minutes it is certain to be discovered[1]."

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 70, 71.

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Doubtless Mr Parker is right in ascribing the marvellous jungle craft of the Wanniya to trained perception and powers of observation, for the equally fine performance of the Veddas is certainly not due to any all round superiority of the senses, as our observations on sight and hearing indicate.

## VISUAL ACUITY.

The visual acuity of twenty-four Vedda men and youths was tested by the E method described by Dr Rivers[1]. The majority of the subjects we tested quickly learnt what was required of them, though they were far less interested in this than in the colour vision tests and illusions, to which we shall refer presently.

The average distance at which a Vedda could distinguish the letter E was 14 metres, no appreciable difference being detected between the Veddas of the wildest groups (Sitala Wanniya, Henebedda) and the more sophisticated Veddas of Bandaraduwa. Giving the results on the same plan as that adopted in the second volume of the Reports of the *Expedition to Torres Straits*, 10 men (41·7 °/o) have a visual acuity expressed by less than 2; 12 (50 °/o) have an acuity between 2 and 3. The greatest distance at which E was recognised was

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[1] This method is a modification of the E test devised by Cohn, "in which a letter E can be exposed in any desired position through a circular hole in a card. The subject of the test has to place a letter E which he holds in his hands in the same position as one shown to him. Instead of the small cardboard E provided in Cohn's test, I used a larger letter E pasted on a board. Cohn's method is very simple and convenient and it entirely removes the danger accompanying the older tests, that the letters may be learnt by heart during the process of testing.

"In general the procedure was the same as that previously adopted in Torres Straits; the observations were made in the open air, both eyes were used, and the distance at which a native made two mistakes in ten exposures was taken as his limit of vision. In one respect the procedure differed; with the older form of the test it was most convenient to begin with the observer beyond his far limit of vision, and to bring him up towards the test-types till he could decipher the letters. With Cohn's form of the test, I first showed the E in various positions at a short distance, and as soon as I had satisfied myself that the native understood the method of testing, I gradually increased the distance till I reached a point at which the positions of the letter could no longer be recognised." (*British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 1, 1905, p. 323.)

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19 metres; this occurred twice. According to the system in ordinary use the position of the letter E used is supposed to be distinguished by the normal eye at a distance of 6 metres, that is, the average sight of a Vedda would be put down as 2·33 times the normal. It is, however, well known that the results obtained are greatly influenced by the quality and nature of the light existing during the test, and comparison with the figures obtained in other countries shows that there is little difference between Veddas and other races. This was confirmed by the results of the examination of ten peasant Sinhalese whose average visual acuity was 17 metres, while if one man of distinctly subnormal vision be ignored the average acuity of the remaining nine works out at nearly 18·5 metres. The keenest sighted individual could distinguish the position of the letter E at 22 metres.

Acuity of vision as tested by the E method seems to decrease in middle life, but this although often quite well marked does not lead to any recognised diminution of hunting capacity, practice and knowledge fully making up for the physical changes in the eye.

## COLOUR VISION.

The alleged absence of the full appreciation of colours among the Veddas was brought forward in Ceylon as a proof of their low mental capacity, but careful observations made with coloured wools and papers showed their perception of colour to be extremely acute. Forty-two adult males, 15 women and 3 boys were tested for colour blindness with a negative result. The majority of our subjects matched the wools quickly and accurately, and of those who at first made mistakes nearly all matched a wool with another of the same saturation but of a different colour. This was particularly noticeable in one old woman who picked out the wools and arranged them in heaps composed of varying colours of the same saturation.

Colour names were collected from 31 men and 4 women

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151 922 by means of Rothe's set of colour papers and the results obtained in this way were checked by frequent reference to Holmgren's wools. When shown the coloured papers and asked the names the more sophisticated among the Veddas gave the usual Sinhalese colour names, red *ratu*; orange and yellow *kaha*; green (three shades) and blue and purple were all called *nil*; black *kalu*; white *sudu*. However few men used all the Sinhalese names, most of the men making comparison with natural objects for at least one or two of the colours, while the least sophisticated men made comparisons for all the colours. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya compared all colours to flowers and leaves except red and orange for which he gave the usual Sinhalese terms. As the flowering season had not begun at the time of our visit we were unable to test the accuracy of his comparisons with the objects themselves, therefore after the colour papers had been put away we repeated the names he had told us and asked him to pick out similar colours from the coloured wools. This he did, and we found that these matched the colour papers to which the flower names had originally been applied with extraordinary accuracy. This man and others as uncontaminated as himself distinguished the two shades of blue and the three of green of the papers, while those who had mixed more with Sinhalese applied *nil* to all shades of blue and green. In order to test whether Handuna knew the ordinary Sinhalese colour names, we gave him the bundle of wools and asked him to show us *sudu* (white), he then picked out white and the very slightly saturated colours of all shades. For *ratu* (red) he gave all the strongly saturated shades of red, purple, claret, bright pink and brown shading off to yellow; *kaha* (yellow) included yellows and a few pale pinks; *nil* (blue and green) included all strongly saturated blue and green-grey tints, violet and some dark browns; these darker shades he also said were *kalu* (black) and he compared them to the bark of trees.

It was noticed that on asking the names for the colour papers the Veddas made comparisons, likening the red paper to a red flower or saying "red like blood," while the purple paper was compared to a blue flower; the three shades of green shown would often be compared to three different kinds of leaves, whereas the rural Sinhalese would say *ratu* for the two first colours and *nil* for the four last. 151 822

Other comparisons frequently made by Veddas were "like *hatu*" used both for orange and black, a source of great bewilderment till it was discovered that *hatu* was a general term for fungus, a bright orange and a black species being brought to us to clear up the difficulty.

Red was compared to fire, black to the coat of a bear, pure white to coconut milk and dirty white to the wax of the *bambara*. Generally speaking it appeared that the more unsophisticated the Vedda the less he used the Sinhalese colour terms, using in their place references to familiar objects. "Like blood" was a frequent comparison, sometimes used for red and sometimes for purple. Though colours were occasionally compared to bird's feathers we did not note any compared to butterflies. When shown purple, violet and blue, most Veddas said they did not know those colours or had never seen anything like them, and one said the same of yellow.

Forty-eight rural Sinhalese were tested for colour blindness 500 and no case was found. The coloured wools were usually matched quickly and accurately. Colour names were collected from 25 men, the usual names given were *ratu* for red and purple, *kaha* for yellow and orange, *nil* for all greens and blues and sometimes for violet and purple, *kalu* for black and also often for indigo, *sudu* for white. Other words occasionally given were *dumbutu* or *dumburu*[1] once given for black, three times for violet, once for blue and once for purple, and on one occasion when wools instead of papers were shown the same word was applied to a shade of claret. *Illalu*[2] was used once for purple, and once for violet. *Guru*[3] which means mud was given on one

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[1] Mr Parker informs us "that *dumbutu* is the same as *dumburu* and means a dark reddish purple or according to Clough 'a compound of red and black' and is sometimes applied to the dark rain clouds of the evening."

[2] *Elalu* is stated in Clough's Dictionary to be applied to "a fair complexion, light red, brown."

[3] Mr Parker writes, "In Clough's Dictionary the meanings of *gurugala* are 'red chalk [?laterite], red orpiment, gold' but '*guru* colour' is applied colloquially to a purple sky." In the invocation to Pannikkia Yaka (Chapter x, No. XIV) *guru* is applied to the sky and the earth at dawn.

000 occasion for orange and on another for violet; *tamba* (copper) was used for violet and blue, this word was also given for the colour of our hair when it applied equally to dark and red hair. Sinhalese hair was called *kalu*. *Pachha* was once used for yellow-green, this being a Tamil word for green.

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Whereas the Veddas seemed to think of colours by a mental reference to the appearance of leaves, flowers and other natural objects, the Sinhalese far more usually made use of colour terms, and none distinguished as many shades as the Veddas except Tissahami, "the Vedda Arachi," whose keen comparisons make his observations worthy of record in full. Several Sinhalese likened red and purple to blood, and compared green with the colour of leaves. Tissahami was first shown the colour papers, for red he gave *ratu* and said it was like fire; yellow he said he did not know; bright green *nil*, blue-green *nil*, blue *kalu*, these three he compared to different kinds of creepers; purple he said he did not know; violet like the small stingless bee; black *kalu*; white *sudu*. He was so interested in looking at colours and comparing them that we showed him several other objects. The outside of a pig-skin pocket book he called *dumburu*, the cleaned and unpolished side of the leather he compared to clay. He was then shown the bundle of coloured wools which he examined at will, comparing and naming those he chose, a grey approaching violet he called *dumburu*; dark greyish-brown he said was like a certain kind of leaf; golden yellow like monkey's fat; a light yellow-brown like a spider's web; greenish-blue like the leaves of a particular kind of yam; a deep claret almost brown he compared to the bark of a tree which is chewed with areca nut and dark greyish-violet to a village potato. It seems that this man whose keen intellect we have referred to in Chapter II had retained something of the Vedda mode of thought acquired during his contact with them in his youth.

## VISUAL ILLUSIONS.

*The Müller-Lyer Illusion.* We used the improved apparatus made of thin xylonite (Fig. 15) devised by Dr Rivers. "One part of the apparatus slides in and out of a framework, on the upper surface of which is drawn one-half of the Müller-Lyer figure, while the other half is drawn on the moveable sliding portion. The lines of which the figure consists are only half a millimetre broad and the point of junction between the two parts of the figure corresponds with the line of junction between the two parts of the apparatus....

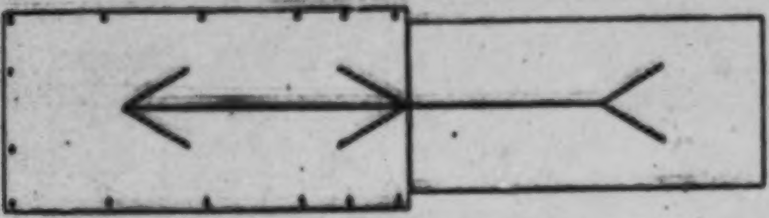

Fig. 15.

"The observer had to make five observations by sliding the moveable part in till the two lines of the figure appeared to him to be equal to one another, and then a second series of five measurements was made by drawing the sliding part outwards till the two parts again appeared equal. In the first series, the variable line was made equal to the standard by a process of shortening, in the second, by a process of lengthening the variable line[1]."

Seventeen Veddas were tested, all of whom appeared to take great interest in the matter.

The average length seen by them was 52·01 (begin long) and 52·09 (begin short). It is of interest to compare these figures with average taken from 13 Sinhalese—55·35 (begin long) and 55·7 (begin short), as well as those taken by Dr Rivers in India.

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[1] *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 1, p. 386.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-8 (1907-1908) 1911
AZ3 Vedda,AZ3

151 Twenty Todas gave an average of 61·2 (begin long) and 58·4 (begin short), while 28 Uralis and Sholagas, i.e. members of jungle tribes comparable in some respects with the Veddas, gave an average of 57·2 (begin long) and 53·4 (begin short).

One Vedda, who first gave 75, i.e. did not see the Illusion, afterwards gave 61·54, 51·58. The most correct measurements were given by Vela, 66, 64, 63, 74, 72, average 67·8 (begin long), and 65, 65, 67, 69, 72, average 67·6 (begin short). In many instances although the men were interested and apparently trying their best each time the results in all their five attempts showed great variations. Among the Sinhalese, on the other hand, the results from separate individuals were often remarkably constant, one man giving 58, 58, 56, 60, 59, and another 60, 56, 57, 57. The average of 16 Sinhalese gave 55·3 (begin long) and 55·7 (begin short). The averages of the mean variations (M.V.) of Veddas and Sinhalese are as follows:

| Veddas | | Sinhalese | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Begin long | Begin short | Begin long | Begin short |
| 3·5 | 3·1 | 3·2 | 2·5 |

*Other Illusions.* A number of illusions were shown to Veddas and Sinhalese. Colour after effects were in general seen very clearly as were the parallel line illusions numbered B. 3 and B. 4 in the Milton-Bradley collection. A number of Sinhalese peasants were especially interested in these parallel lines, working out the explanation for themselves; they were also interested in the illusion numbered C. 5, consisting of two curved pieces of cardboard of the same shape and of equal size which looked of very different size when placed side by side. The general explanation of these illusions offered by the jungle-dwelling Sinhalese was that their eyes were defective. The results obtained by showing equal black and white squares on white and black grounds were by no means constant.

## TACTILE DISCRIMINATION.

The threshold for the tactile discrimination of two points was tested by the method devised by Dr W. McDougall, and used by him in Torres Straits[1].

Preliminary observations on Sinhalese in which they were told after each test whether they were right or wrong suggested that this practice led to speculation on their sensations, their subsequent answers being influenced by inference and judgment. Accordingly neither Veddas nor Sinhalese were told whether their answers were right or wrong.

The areas of skin tested were:

(1) The middle of the flexor surface of the left forearm, the points being applied in a longitudinal direction.

(2) The nape of the neck, the points being applied transversely and about equidistant from the middle line.

(3) The palm or surface of the terminal phalanx of the left index finger, the points being applied longitudinally.

Our observations which were made on 12 Veddas and the same

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[1] This method has been described by Dr Rivers (*op. cit.*, pp. 363, 364) as follows: "The important feature of this method is that the area of the skin which is being tested is touched with one point just as often as with two points. If stimulations with one point are only occasionally interspersed between the stimulations with two points so that the latter are given more frequently, the results are almost certain to be biassed. If the observer either knows or thinks that he is being touched with two points more frequently than with one point, he will tend in cases of doubt, to answer 'two' more often than 'one.' The error thus introduced can only be eliminated by an absolute equality in the number of single and double stimulations.

"The compass points were applied at a distance from one another decidedly greater than the probable threshold, and the distance between them gradually diminished till the two points were no longer recognised as two. Twenty stimulations were made at each distance at which any error occurred, ten stimulations with one point, and an equal number with two points. The distance taken as the threshold is that at which two mistakes in ten occur in each kind of stimulation....

"A man who called two points 'one' twice and one point 'two' three times at a given distance would be rejected at that distance, and the distance next above it would be regarded as the threshold.

"When the skin was touched with one point only, this was applied in the neighbourhood of one or other of the spots touched in the double stimulations."

151 number of Sinhalese showed that on the whole the tactile sensibility of the two races was equal; further no member of either race showed any great variation from his fellows.

| | Forearm mm. | Nape mm. | Finger mm. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vedda average | 55 | 27·9 | 2·9 |
| mean variation (M.V.) | 5·8 | 11·7 | 0·6 |
| Sinhalese average | 30 | 30 | 2·6 |
| mean variation (M.V.) | 1·3 | 6·3 | 0·6 |

## SENSIBILITY TO PAIN.

The degree of sensitiveness to pain of both Veddas and Sinhalese was tested by means of the modification of Cattell's algometer used by Rivers and Head[1], which differs from the original in that the spring is extended instead of compressed. "It consists of an ebonite rod 9 mm. in diameter, with smooth, somewhat flattened hemispherical head, which slides within a large ebonite rod against the resistance of a spiral spring. The larger rod is grasped by the operator, and the end of the smaller rod applied perpendicularly to the skin and a steadily increasing pressure made until the subject cries 'Stop.' A brass pin projecting from the smaller rod pushes an index up a scale which is attached to the larger rod and graduated in kilograms. The degree of pressure exerted can then be read from the index after removing the instrument from the skin[2]." Our subjects were instructed to cry out directly they began to feel any pain, the algometer always being applied by the same observer who endeavoured to increase the pressure at a constant rate.

The areas chosen for application of the algometer were:

(i) the centre of the nails of the thumb and index of each hand;

(ii) the sternum, pressure being applied over the manubrium to corresponding spots on each side of the middle line;

(iii) above the knee, the subject being seated with the knee bent at right angles and pressure being applied in the centre of the limb immediately behind the knee-cap.

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[1] *A Human Experiment in Nerve Division.* Brain 1908.

[2] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, Vol. II, p. 194.

It has been pointed out by Dr Rivers that there is danger that "some individuals might regard the experiment as a test of the power of enduring pain, and might not speak till they had experienced pain for some time and could bear it no longer[1]." We were fully alive to this, and while one observer applied the algometer the other would often watch for the slight involuntary flinching which in many of our subjects—especially in the Veddas—marked the threshold of pain. As will be seen by the figures given below the threshold was consistently lower for the Veddas than for the Sinhalese. The Veddas were undoubtedly more interested in the experiment than the Sinhalese, and the flinching accompanying the onset of pain was more frequently noted in the former than in the latter. Nevertheless we consider that the difference in the figures is not due to carelessness or misapprehension on the part of the Sinhalese, but indicates a real difference in sensibility to pain in the two peoples. Were this not the case we should expect to obtain considerable variations in the same individual in the figures given by pressure on symmetrical areas; such variations are, however, quite rare.

We tested 21 Veddas and 18 Sinhalese, with the results shown in the following table:

| | Thumb | | Forefinger | | Sternum | | Above Knee | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | R. | L. | R. | L. | 1 (L.) | 2 (R.) | R. | L. |
| Veddas (21) average | 4·3 | 5·8 | 5·71 | 5·6 | 3·8 | 4·1 | 6·2 | 6·1 |
| „ „ M.V. | ·15 | ·09 | ·6 | ·3 | ·3 | ·1 | ·1 | 7 |
| Sinhalese (18) average | 5·5 | 5·3 | 5 | 5·8 | 5·3 | 5·5 | 10·3 | 9·3 |
| „ „ M.V. | 1·3 | ·4 | 1·3 | ·6 | ·06 | ·06 | ·08 | ·4 |

With a single exception (the forefinger in the Sinhalese) the thresholds are higher on the right side than on the left.

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[1] *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 1, p. 372.

151 Dr Rivers' experiments upon the Todas gave the same result and led him to conclude that the threshold is slightly higher on the right than on the left side. In coming to this conclusion he took into account a set of control experiments in which the left side was first stimulated; it will be noticed in the above table that the left side of the sternum was the first stimulated[1].

## SMELL.

369 No attempt was made to determine the olfactory acuity of the Veddas, but our experiments with scents suggested to us that this was not specially well developed. Certainly the Henebedda Veddas suffered no inconvenience from the objectionable smell which arose round the Bendiyagalge rock-shelters after a few days' occupation, nor did they seek to diminish this smell, which was due to the lack of the most elementary sanitary precaution.

The following scents were offered to a number of Veddas at Henebedda, Bandaraduwa, Godatalawa, Sitala Wanniya and Unuwatura Bubula: civet, camphor, jasmine, *peau d'Espagne*, tonquin, orris, assafoetida, peppermint, verbena, crategine, chloroform, Lin. terebinthinae aceticum (B.P.), chloral, and eau de Cologne. The men examined were Tuta of Henebedda (1), Kaira of Henebedda (2), Poromala Walaha (3), Kaira (bearded) of Henebedda (4), the Vidane of Bandaraduwa (5), Banda of Bandaraduwa (6), a number of men of Godatalawa (7), Kaira of Sitala Wanniya (8), Handuna and Nila of Sitala Wanniya (9), Naida and Appu of Unuwatura Bubula (10), Tambia (11), Banda (12).

151 901 In most cases their opinions were taken down separately, but at Unuwatura Bubula and Godatalawa the scents were passed round and the general opinion of our informants recorded. The Veddas were always interested in examining the scents, but though they said a number of the odours were good they

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[1] In his paper in the *British Journal of Psychology* Dr Rivers discusses at some length the possible fallacies of the method described.

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[201]

seldom showed any emotion of pleasure: on the other hand their demonstrations of dislike were unmistakable. When a scent appeared to them particularly distasteful they invariably held their noses and cleared their throats, but we do not remember seeing them spit. It will be noticed that there is a great variation of opinion, and even such a distinct odour as civet is considered by some very pleasant and by others extremely disagreeable. Again the same simile "squeezed orange skin" was used by different men referring to such unlike scents as civet and peppermint, and while in the first instance it was considered good, in the second it was thought unpleasant. The men of Godatalawa compared camphor to the flowers of the *na* tree (*Mesua ferrea*), calling it a good scent, while Kaira of Sitala Wanniya said assafoetida was a very bad scent like *na* flowers, and assured us that he disliked the scent of the *na* flower intensely. Except such well known flowers as this and that of the *mora* tree we were unable to identify any of the flowers mentioned as they were nearly all out of season.

*Civet.* Good, wild boar's fat (1), good, squeezed orange skin (3), not good (4), very bad, like faeces (5); good, like burning (6); good, like a flower smell (7); bad, like *kalke* flower (8); like wax of tree *kambara* (9); good, like leopard fat (10); bad, like faeces (11); bad, like faeces (12).

*Camphor.* Good (1); good (3); bad, like squeezed orange (4); bad (5); good (6); very good, like smell of *na* flowers (7); good, like *koel* flower (8); good, like a kind of lime (9); good, like medicine (10); very bad (11); sour, bad (12).

*Jasmine.* Good smell, monkey fat (1); good, like smell of mangoes (3); like honey of *bulumal* (4); bad (5); very slight smell and not good (6); not good, like *kapumal* (? *Eriodendron anfractuosum*) (7); good, like *minbuto* flower (8); like young oranges, good (9); bad, like pig fat (10); not good (11); doubtful (12).

*Peau d'espagne.* Doubtful, like betel leaves (1); good (3); good, like *moramal* honey (4); doubtful, partly good (5); too strong (6); like coconut spirit (7); good, like *kiela* honey (8); good, like orange (9); bad, like bear's fat (10); good (12).

*Tonquin.* Good, like bear's fat (1); like the fat of the monitor

51 lizard, good (4); good (5); good (6); very good, like *jak* fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) (7); *malmini* fruit, good (8); like honey, good (9); bad, like bear's fat (10); good (11); bad (12).

*Orris.* Good, lime peel squeezed (1); good, like fat of the monitor lizard (3); not good, like squeezed orange skin (4); bad (5); like smoke (6); good, like *wadamal* (7); bad (8); bad, like [illegible] (edible) fruit (9); bad, like elk fat (10); bad (11); very bad (12).

*Assafoetida.* Bad, like bear's fat (1); good (3); bad (4); bad (5); good (6); very good, like *ghee* (7); bad, like *na* flower (8); bad, like *na* flower (9); bad (10); bad (11); bad, like sour lime (12).

*Peppermint.* Like wild boar's fat (1); like pepper (2); good (3); bad, like orange skin (4); like smoke (6); good, like *epala* flowers (7); bad, like a flower (8); good, like *malmini* fruit (9); medicine like coriander (10); bad, like burning (11); too strong, bad (12).

*Verbena.* Good, squeezed orange skin (3); good, like the flowers of the *mora* tree (*Nephelium longana*) (4); bad (5); no smell or very little (6); very good, like smell of oil (7); good, like *marana* flowers (8); good, like skin of lime (9); like coconut-spirit, good (10); like honey (11); bad (12).

A few jungle Sinhalese showed very much the same variations in personal likes and dislikes as the Veddas, but none of these men compared the scents to the odour of particular kinds of flowers—indeed comparisons were few—though one man who disliked the smell of assafoetida extremely called this *titai*. This word was commonly applied to the sensation produced by a solution of quinine applied to the tongue[1].

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[1] We may here note the results of a very few experiments on taste. The Veddas of Henebedda (we speak especially of the young men of the community) have learnt to eat curry as "hot" and as highly spiced as that favoured by the Sinhalese—i.e. a curry far "hotter" than suits the palate of a seasoned European. These men resembled the peasant Sinhalese in calling the "hot" taste produced by pepper *kata pissenawa*, i.e. mouth burning; quinine they compared to the bitter *karawila* fruit. Sugar or anything sweet was always compared to honey by both Veddas and Sinhalese; one of the latter compared vinegar to the taste of the juice of limes.

## HEARING.

We made a number of observations on acuity of hearing; owing to the different conditions prevalent on different days and in different localities, no attempt is made to compare the results obtained from Veddas of different groups. Our observations were made with Politzer's *Hörmesser*, an instrument in which a small metal hammer strikes a metal bar and so produces a constant sound, and although no general conclusions can be drawn certain of our results seem worthy of record. Eight men of Bendiyagalge were tested immediately after each other; two of these men, judged to be under twenty, heard the sound at 8 and 10 metres respectively; four more or less middle-aged men heard it at 3 to 5 metres; and two men, Poromala (Wallaha) and his brother Handuna, both of whom we judged to be over fifty, could only hear it at one metre or less. The figures obtained with the Sitala Wanniya group though less striking point in the same direction, so that we seem justified in stating that the hearing powers of the Veddas are at their maximum during or soon after adolescence, after which they soon begin to lessen and may reach a rather low level while the individual is still active and energetic, and before his capacity as a hunter is noticeably diminished. None of the older men with a low auditory acuity had given us any reason in daily intercourse to suspect that their hearing was less acute than that of their younger comrades. We several times noted the very great influence of the position of the head, and we soon allowed our subjects to stand with the head in any comfortable position in which they could not see the *Hörmesser*, which was clicked behind them as nearly as possible at right angles to a plane passing through both shoulders. Under these conditions a Vedda of Danigala, with his head turned so that his left ear was inclined towards the *Hörmesser*, could hear four out of five clicks at 16 metres, though with his head facing directly away from the *Hörmesser* he could only doubtfully hear anything at 8 metres, and could not definitely hear the sound at a greater distance than 5 metres.

151 Our observations on Sinhalese, were very limited, but led us to consider that the acuity of hearing of the peasant Sinhalese between the ages of 30 and 40 did not excel that of Europeans, for although a few individuals had a higher acuity than ourselves, the majority fell below us.

## ENUMERATION.

802 184 This is a convenient place to refer to the question of counting. With regard to village Veddas our observations confirm the experience of others that the village Veddas have adopted the Sinhalese numerals, which they use correctly, at least up to 20, but we cannot say whether they are equally accurate when using higher numbers. This facility in counting is not found among the wilder Veddas whose method among themselves on the rare occasions on which they wish to express a definite number is to take small pieces of stick and lay them on one side saying as each stick is put down *ekamai* "that is one." Beyond this the wilder Veddas have a slight knowledge of the meaning of the Sinhalese words for the lower numbers. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya made no difficulty in picking out 2, 3, or 4 pieces of stick from a heap on being given the Sinhalese number; the Sinhalese words for 5 or 6 (though he said he knew them perfectly well) led to hesitation and sometimes to failure in picking out the correct number, while larger numbers obviously failed to convey any precise idea to him. Although we interrogated only two other elderly Veddas of the wilder groups on this matter the results we obtained from them were so like those given by Handuna that we do not hesitate to accept his behaviour as typical of the old members of the less sophisticated groups of Veddas, and in support of this view we may refer to p. 33 on which we have stated the information given on this point by a very old Sinhalese informant. We do not attribute the Vedda inability to count to any lack of intelligence but simply to their having little need to be precise in the matter of numbers[1].

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[1] For further information concerning this point cf. *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 68 and 69.

# CHAPTER XVII

## CONCLUSIONS

In the first chapter we have given an account of those facts in the history and pre-history of Ceylon which must be taken into account in any investigation of the Veddas, and we referred (p. 27) to the common Sinhalese belief that the Veddas were once rich and powerful. We stated that we could find no adequate reason for this belief, which is held only by the Sinhalese and is dismissed with contempt by all Veddas. It seemed to us that we had said enough on the subject, but the appearance of Mr Parker's recent work, *Ancient Ceylon*, which must always remain authoritative for much which concerns the Island, has persuaded us of the necessity for stating at greater length the reasons for our opinion. 174 114

Mr Parker's views on the subject of the former civilisation of the Veddas will be found on pp. 103 to 112 of *Ancient Ceylon*, and we cannot do better than begin our argument by quoting a considerable part of pp. 111 and 112 in which he both states the problem and summarises his views as to its solution.

"In dealing with the position of the Vaeddas, we are faced with this difficulty—that a portion of the race was relatively civilised in ancient times, while certain members of it are found at the present day almost in the state occupied by some of the most primitive peoples. We must adopt a theory which will include all the facts of the case; and not one which ignores some of the most important and significant and incontrovertible historical details and traditions. We cannot select the smallest and wildest group of Vaeddas, and because of their simple life as hunters place the whole race in the position which they continue to occupy...partly by accident and partly of their own free choice.

"My conclusion therefore is that whether there has been any retrogression of the present Forest Vaeddas from a certain low state of civilisation or not, in very early times a great part of the race had reached a much more advanced state of culture than the wilder members of it, whose more or less isolated life either as hunters, or as hunters-and-villagers, did not in many cases induce them to feel any desire to participate in it. This more civilised portion has absorbed the Gangetic settlers, and acquired their status and language, and with some intermixture of Dravidian blood, or in many instances without it, has become the existing Kandian Sinhalese race.

"The ancestors of the present few hunting Vaeddas—who now most probably number much less than one hundred—either abandoned, some centuries after Christ, a form of village life in which they were partly or chiefly hunters, and reverted to the forest life of their forefathers; or, like some of the wild hunting tribes of the South Indian hills, remained, at least until very recent years, in nearly the original condition of the first comers to Ceylon, apparently simply because they preferred the free untrammelled life in the woods, and found their accustomed habits and household articles suited to all the requirements of a hunter's existence in the forests of Ceylon. The evidence afforded by the caves appears to me to be in favour of the former theory, which is also supported by the loss of their original language and their adoption of the Sinhalese tongue.

"The majority, however, of those who did not coalesce with the Gangetic settlers and their descendants, or accept their mode of life and culture, have, in comparatively modern times, and in certain instances partly through compulsion—since portions of the forests in which they were accustomed to hunt have been cut down in order to permit rice and millet cultivation—to some extent adopted the more civilised existence of their neighbours. Many keep buffaloes, and all but those few who live only by hunting and fishing, grow millet and other plants suited to their jungle clearings. An exceptional few in favourable sites for it even cultivate rice, and, as some of them informed me, in recent

years have settled down permanently and have planted such 174
fruit trees as Coconuts, Areka-nuts, and Plantains about their 114
houses."

Mr Parker admits such intercourse between the races as is necessary to allow intermarriage and a considerable amount of social contact-metamorphosis, so that we are in complete agreement with him concerning the "majority" of whom he speaks in the last paragraph, and no one will doubt "that in very early times a great part of the race had reached a much more advanced state of culture than the wilder members of it." It therefore only remains to discuss his conclusions concerning those of whom he speaks as the "present Forest Vaeddas."

We hold that there can be little doubt as to which of the two hypotheses put forward by Mr Parker is the correct one, and in spite of the fact that he leans towards the opposite view we shall now proceed to summarise our reasons for believing that the few unsophisticated Veddas of the present day do in fact represent the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon.

In the first place let us consider their physical characters. 174
Experts in comparative anatomy will turn to the work of the Sarasins to estimate for themselves the significance of the primitive osteological characters they describe; it is only necessary here to refer to the more obvious external characters in which the Veddas differ from the Sinhalese. A single glance at the photograph reproduced in Plate III shows that two men in this group differ in general appearance and in their greater stature from their comrades; these two men, as has been mentioned on p. 16, are half-breeds, as are those shown in figure 1 of Plate XIV. The younger man might pass for a Sinhalese and in features closely recalls the Kandyan Sinhalese figured by Deniker[1], who does not at all resemble the relatively broad faced and broad nosed Veddas shown in Plates III, IV, V and VII. Further, among the measurements given in Chapter I the average height of 24 male Veddas measured by the Sarasins is given as 1·55 m. (about 60⅞ inches), while the average height of 10 Kandyan Sinhalese whom they also measured is 1·61 m. or

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[1] *Races of Man*, 1900, p. 416.

194 about 63½ inches[1]. We may also refer to the measurements of Sinhalese made by M. Emile Deschamps and given in his book 113 *Au Pays des Veddas* (pp. 464 and 465). M. Deschamps has informed us that his measurements were all made on Kandyans, among whom he found that the average height of 16 males was 1·60 m. (about 63 inches) while the average cephalic index of 14 males was 75·9.

On the cultural side the evidence, though less obvious, is, we believe, no less convincing. There is as far as we can ascertain no evidence of there ever having been an organisation into exogamous clans among the Sinhalese, but there is not the least doubt that this exists among the Veddas, among whom it must therefore be considered to have arisen, and we know that this is characteristic of many of the more primitive Jungle (Dravidian) peoples of India[2]. The Vedda cult of the dead must also be looked upon as a primitive and not an adopted feature since it is found among many Indian jungle tribes. There is no need to labour this point since the information given us by Mr Parker and quoted on pp. 14 and 142 indicates, not that the Vedda cult of the dead is derived from Bandar worship, but that this has arisen among the Sinhalese from a cult previously existing in Ceylon. These considerations seem to us to put beyond doubt the fact that the present day Veddas are the lineal descendants in culture as well as in physique of the early (Dravidian) people who inhabited Ceylon, before it was colonised by an Aryan-speaking people, though they do not rebut the "evidence afforded by the caves" (Parker *loc. cit.*) or explain the adoption by the Veddas of the Sinhalese language.

The caves, however, do not seem to us to present any insuperable difficulty. A very small number of caves or rock

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[1] We may here quote the opinion of Mr Edgar Thurston who, on looking at a number of photographs of Veddas, made the remark that he should not have known them from photographs of members of a number of Indian Jungle Tribes.

[2] This is not the place to discuss the meaning of the term "Dravidian" or the Dravidian problem; we use the term to signify the short, dark, dolichocephalic peoples of the Deccan. Dr Haddon considers that the Veddas should be classed with the Kurumbas, Irulas and some other Jungle Tribes of the Deccan as pre-Dravidians (*Races of Man*, pp. 7 and 13).

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shelters have been excavated, and although the drip-ledges and other signs of stone working on those we have ourselves examined indicate that they were inhabited by Sinhalese about 2000 years ago, there are doubtless many others which were not used in this way, and we see no difficulty in believing that when, during the efflorescence of Buddhism, these caves were inhabited by monks, those Veddas who were not drawn within the ever widening circle of Sinhalese influence withdrew to other shelters in the wilder parts of the country, their descendants, who had preserved their independence in the jungle, returning in time to what is now the Vedirata and re-occupying the caves. It was not perhaps necessary for the Veddas to migrate to another part of the country; this at least is Mr Parker's view, who holds that it "is clear that in many instances little establishments of only two or three monks must have occupied the caves on some of the most secluded of these hills, buried in the depths of the dense forests of the wildest parts of the Island. In such sites the aborigines could have regained possession of their caves with ease and impunity, and with practically no fear of punishment by the Sinhalese authorities. In the histories also, there is no hint of any quarrels with the natives after the time when Pandukabhaya became king[1]."

We believe that there is nothing *a priori* improbable in these views, and the records of "wild" Veddas all through historic times show that there was always some part of the country so thinly settled as to allow them to persist as a jungle tribe.

We come now to the question of language. Mr Parker's translations of the invocations we collected, and Mr Gunasekara's examination of our vocabularies and songs, indicate that no trace of the old Vedda language has survived. This does not, however, prove that the Veddas who were the ancestors of the present "wild" Veddas were a highly civilised race who had adopted all the customs of their Aryan-speaking neighbours; it is generally admitted that a people may adopt a foreign language while retaining its old customs and without greatly altering its old method of life.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 31.

174 171 The case of the Bhumij of Western Bengal is particularly illuminating. "Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and now speak only Bengali. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous sub-divisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santals. But they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste in the full sense of the word, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive[1]." Further, "some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhars, and hold large landed tenures on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs, and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests. They have, as a rule, borrowed the Rajput class titles, but cannot conform with the Rajput rules of intermarriage, and marry within a narrow circle of pseudo-Rajputs like themselves[2]." The rest of the tribe, numbering at the last census 370, 239, are divided into a number of exogamous groups, which include the Sabusi (*sal* fish), the Hansda (wild goose), the Lang (mushroom), Sandiliya (a bird) and Hemron (areca palm) clans.

174 Mr Parker (*op. cit.* p. 96) lays some stress on "the fact" that the Veddas "understand and use" the "classical expression" Nirindu "chief of men" which occurs in an invocation (Chapter X, No 16) we obtained from the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya. We may perhaps point out that very many expressions occur in the invocations given in Chapter X which the Veddas do not understand at all, or to which they attach a secondary and incorrect meaning. That the expression is classical and is "never employed in modern colloquial Sinhalese" is not surprising, for as we have shown in Chapter XV the time at which the Veddas gave up their own language and assumed the Sinhalese is relatively remote, so that their charms and invocations may reasonably be expected to contain archaic expressions. We may also refer to the passage (already quoted on p. 417) from Mr Parker's

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[1] H. H. Risley, *People of India*, p. 74.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 94, 95

work in which he speaks of the existence of small and scattered Buddhist establishments in the midst of the jungle in which the Veddas still lived. We can imagine no condition more favourable for the passage of classical expressions and formulae into the Vedda language and religion.

The use of rice and coconuts in the offerings to the *yaku* also demands discussion. We have shown that many of the *yaku* ceremonies are essentially acts of communion uniting the living with the spirits of the dead, and we have hinted our belief that the reason for rice and coconut being almost essential parts of the offering is that they are the foods of which the Veddas are especially fond and which they regard as great delicacies. It is, however, obvious that there might be another reason for the almost constant offering of these foods; if we regard the Veddas as having fallen from a higher state in which they were cultivators then the necessity of offering just these foods to the *yaku* would be a survival from the times when rice and coconuts were offered by the civilised ancestors of the present day Veddas.

This period might theoretically coincide either with the time referred to in the Mahawansa when equal thrones were set up at Anuradhapura by king Pandukabhaya for himself and "the yakkha chief Citta[1]," or it might have been long before the time of the conquest of Ceylon by the northern invaders, in which event it must be assumed that the Veddas learnt to cultivate rice and to grow coconuts from the Nagas or some other immigrant race.

Concerning these two possibilities we can only say that we have already on pp. 9 and 10 stated our views as to the significance of the elevation of the chief Citta and the political organization of his followers. With regard to the possible origin of the offerings of rice and coconut in the times before the invasion, the Nagas doubtless exercised some influence on the aborigines among whom they settled, yet there is every reason to believe that outside Nagadipa, this influence was not widely spread throughout the Island, at least in any developed form.

The Mahawansa differentiates very clearly between Nagas

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[1] *Op. cit.* Ch. x, p. 43.

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and Yakkas and the conditions it chronicles at the conquest seem to us to indicate the existence of a wild jungle people such as we know existed at the time when Europeans first came in contact with the Sinhalese.

We take this opportunity of alluding to the following literary evidence which shows the existence of a jungle people in Ceylon in the 4th, 7th, and 11th centuries.

Tennant has drawn attention to the treatise *De Moribus Brachmanorum* written in the 4th century A.D. and ascribed to Palladius. In this the author cites the account of the Βεσάδες given him by a Theban scholar who, having failed to prosper as an advocate, had turned traveller and explorer. The Theban stated that "when in Ceylon, he obtained pepper from the Besadae, and succeeded in getting so near them as to be able to describe accurately their appearance, their low stature and feeble configuration, their large heads and shaggy uncut hair—a description which in every particular agrees with the aspect of the Veddahs at the present day. His expression that he succeeded in 'getting near' them, *ἔφθασα ἐγγὺς τῶν καλουμένων* Βεσάδων, shows their propensity to conceal themselves even when bringing the articles which they had collected in the woods to sell[1]."

Further information concerning the Βεσάδες is given by the Sarasins (*op. cit.* pp. 578, 579) who used the Greek account in the edition of Bissaeus, ignoring the poor translation of this into Latin which Bissaeus also gives. The Theban relates "that having fallen in with some Indian trading boats which were crossing over (to Ceylon) from Axume, he sought to penetrate further into the interior (of the Island) and suddenly arrived in the vicinity of the so-called Βισάδες (in this place written Θηβαιδες, doubtless in error) who gather pepper. But this people is by far the smallest and weakest, they live in rock-caves, and know how to climb over the most intricately massed rocks and thus gather pepper from the bushes; for these are small trees as the scholar informs us.......

"The Βισάδες are little men, with large heads and long and straight hair; whereas on the other hand the others, the negros (Ethiopians) and the Indians, are black and powerful, and curly haired. There, he says, I was stopped by the one in power (δυναστεύων) and asked about my business and how I dared to force my way into their land; and while they could not accept my explanation because they did not understand our language, I could not understand their questions because I did not know theirs.......Their loud voices, their bloodshot eyes, and the savage gnashing of their teeth inspired me with fear.......Held captive.......I.......did them service, the task of cooking being allotted to me."

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[1] Tennant, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 593 n.

References in Arabic and Chinese writers have also been collected by Tennant, who notes (*op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 272 n.) that in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hioueng Thsang remarked that the "Yakkhos" had retreated to the south-east part of Ceylon, while in the first half of the 11th century the Arabic geographer, Alberuni, described the "silent trade" as carried on with the *gins* or, according to others, with men who were absolute savages.

We have already cited passages which show that there were Veddas living a free life in the jungle in the 17th century, and it can scarcely be suggested that between the 12th and 17th centuries the Veddas ceased to lead this sort of life and for a time adopted the civilisation of the Sinhalese to again lapse into wild life in the jungle about the time that European influence began to be felt in the Island.

There is one matter which seems to us more difficult to understand than any other, and which, if the Veddas had not kept up their division into exogamous clans, it would be difficult to explain otherwise than by their having at one time adopted Sinhalese habits and customs and having later reverted to a wandering jungle life. We refer to their terms of relationship which, as already set forth in Chapter III, are identical with those employed by the Sinhalese. We consider that this must be accounted for in the same way as the assumption by the Veddas of an Aryan language, and that the factors which determined this at the same time led to the adoption of the Aryan terms of relationship.

In conclusion we may state our opinion of the relationship of the Veddas to the jungle tribes of India and to the civilised races of Ceylon. We regard them as part of the same race as the so-called Dravidian jungle tribes of Southern India. Perhaps the few surviving "wild" Veddas have altered less socially than the people of the Indian jungle groups, and are therefore to be regarded as more primitive than these, but even this is and must remain uncertain until we know more of the social life of the Indian jungle tribes. Turning to the historic races of the Island, we believe that the Kandyans and indeed all the "up country" Sinhalese have absorbed a considerable amount of Vedda blood, and that their customs have been influenced by the Veddas, who, in turn, have learned to speak an Aryan language. The Tamils do not appear to owe anything to the Veddas, though the religion of those Veddas who live in or near the Tamil zone has been influenced by the latter.

# VEDDA VOCABULARY.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| B. | Bandaraduwa. | O. S. | Old Sinhalese. |
| Bl. | Bulugahaladena. | P. | Pali. |
| D. | Dambani. | Port. | Portuguese. |
| Fl. | Kaelebasa language. | R. | Rerenkadi. |
| G. | Godatalawa. | S. | Sinhalese. |
| H. | Hindi. | Sk. | Sanskrit. |
| Hind. | Hindustani. | T. | Tamil. |
| K. | Kovil Vanamal. | Tel. | Telugu. |
| L. | Lindegala. | Tf. | Threshing floor language. |
| M. | Marathi. | Tk. | Tamankaduwa. |
| Mal. | Malay. | U. | Unuwatura Bubula. |
| N. | Nilgala. | W. | Sitala Wanniya. |
| O. | Wannaku of Uniche. | Y. | Yaka. |

## GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| adj. | adjective. | masc. | masculine. |
| cf. | compare. | pl. | plural. |
| coll. | colloquial. | p. p. a. | past participle adjective. |
| f. | feminine. | p. p. | present participle. |
| gen. | genitive. | pres. | present tense. |
| imp. | imperative. | sing. | singular. |

# VEDDA VOCABULARY

192 1. **Areca-nut**, *gaigeḍi* B. K. Bl. L. T.; *guyipodi* R.; *kahatageḍi* B. K. (S. *puwak*).

*Gaigeḍi* from *gal*, stone, S. *gal*, and *geḍi*, fruit, nut.

*Guyipodi* from *guyi*, stone, and *podi*, that which is small (T. *poḍi*).

*Kahatageḍi* perhaps from S. *kahata*, astringent; cf. Sk. *kashāya* (H. and M. *khaṭṭa*), acid, and *geḍi*, *v. supra*.

2. **Areca-nut cutter**, *yamahe* Bl. from Sk. *yamaka*, a pair, an areca-nut cutter being composed of two limbs (S. *girē*). [At Bulugahaladena *yamahe* was used for betel pouch instead of the ordinary Sinhalese words *bulat paiya*.]

3. **Arm**, *adane*, *aidanda* D. Bl.; *atula* O. (S. *ata*, *aidaṇḍa*).

*Adane.* If this is the correct word, it is connected with S. *adina* (older form *adana*), pulling, carrying, i.e. that by which carrying etc. is done; if incorrect it should be *adanda*.

*Aidanda* from *ad*, *at*, hand, and *danda*, staff, arm, hand (S. *at-daṇḍa*).

*Atula* from *at*, hand, and *tula*, Sk. *tala*, forearm. Cf. M. *tāṭā*, stem, stalk and S. *atula*, palm.

4. **Arrow**, *aude* T.; *danda* D.; *morian keca* Bl.; *morian ketiya* B. K.; *morian mate* K. (S. *iya*).

*Aude* from S. *āwude* (Sk. *āyudha*, P. *āyudha* or *āvudha*), weapon. [*Aude* is the term applied by all Veddas except the village Veddas of Bintenne to short-handled ceremonial arrows such as are shown in Fig. 8 (page 138).]

*Danda* from S. Sk. and P. *daṇḍa*, stick, rod.

*Morian keca* from *morian* S. *maraṇa*, killing (Sk. √*mṛi* P. and S. *mara*), and *keca*, knife, from Sk. √*kṛit*, to cut, cf. T. *katti*.

*Morian ketiya*, *v. morian keca* supra.

*Morian mate*, *mate* is from S. *moṭala*, arrow.

5. **Ashes**, *alu poja* D. from S. *alu*, ashes, and *poja* from Sk. and P. *puñja*, mass, heap (S. *alu*).

6. **Ask** (*v.*), *enonukalapa* Bl. from *enonu* M. *unĕpanā*, want, *k*, e (indef. article) and *alapa*, to question, to speak to (M. Sk. and P. √*ālap*). (S. *illanawā*, *asanawa*.)

7. Axe, *asirihatuwa* W.; *galrakiya* K. D. Bl. L. T.; *poredatula* O.; *porokatiya* B.; *porowa* W.; *sambala* B.; *tarian kos* K.; *tekkiya* R. (S. *porowa*).

*Ásirihatuwa*, lit. "a cutting instrument with a sharp side or edge," from *asiri* (Sk. *aśri*), sharp side or edge, and *hatuwa* (Sk. *kṛit*, M. *hata*, to cut), cutter.

*Galrakya* is given by some writers as *galraekke* and derived from *gal*, stone, *raekka*, rubbed or sharpened, cf. H. *ragar*, rubbing. It appears to be connected with H. *kulhāri*, axe.

*Poredatula* from *poruda* (Sk. *paraśvadha*), hatchet, battle-axe, and *tula* (Sk. *dala*, S. *tala*), piece, blade.

*Porokatiya* from S. *pora*, axe, and *katiya*, a short thing, i.e. the axe itself, cf. M. *kōtā*, *kuṭakā*, T. *kuṭṭai*, that which is short.

*Sambala*, cf. M. *tabala*, axe.

*Tarian kos* from *tari*, tree (Sk. and P. *taru*), *an*, destroying (Sk. and P. *adana*), and *kos* (*v. supra*, No. 4).

*Tekkiya*, from Sk. *ṭaṅka*, axe.

8. Bad, *napuri*, B. T.; *pakarovila* D. (S. *napuru*).

*Napuri* from Sk. *na*, not, and *pura*, heaven, i.e. hell, cf. *naraka*, hell, colloquially used in the sense of "bad" in place of *napuru* which is confined to books.

*Pakarovila* perhaps from *pakara* (Sk. *priyakara*), pleasant, and *vili* (Sk. *vina*), without.

9. Banana, *kohelgeḍi* D. Bl.; *ratgeḍi* O. (S. *kehelgeḍi*).

*Ratgeḍi*, lit. red-fruit, from S. *rata*, red, and *geḍiya*, fruit.

10. Bat, *kadira* N. from Sk. *kṛitti patra*, one who has a hide (*kṛitti*) for its wings (*patra*), cf. Sk. *ajinapatrā*, bat (S. *wavula*).

11. Be, exist (v.), *indine* O.; *laba tibenya* Bl. (S. *innawā*, *tibenawā*).

*Indine* from S. *indinawā*, to sit, to be.

*Laba tibenya* from *laba*, having gained (existence), and *tibenya*, (it) is.

12. Beads, *galmine* Bl.; *galwadana* B.; *velpatasta* W. (S. *pabalu*).

*Galmine*, lit. throat-gems, from *gal*, throat, neck (S. Sk. and P. *gala*), and *mine*, gems, beads (S. *miṇi*, P. *maṇi*, H. *maṇkā*), or perhaps stone-gems, from S. *gal*, stone.

*Galwadana*, lit. string of stones, from S. *gal* and *wadana*, string.

*Velpatasta* from *vela*, S. *waela*, creeper, slender cord (M. *vēla*, Sk. *valli*), *pote* (S. *pote*, *poți*), of a single string, and *ata*, S. *ața*, bone, seed, bead.

13. **Bear** (*Melursus ursinus*), *hatera* W.; *keria*, N. G. U. D. B. L. R. T.; *keri handa* K.; *malapulakana* O.; *walbala* L. (S. *walahā*).

*Hateri*, lit. enemy (S. *hatura*, Sk. *śatru*).

*Keri handa*, lit. black-bodied one, *keri*, T. *kari* (Sk. *kṛishna*), black; *handa*, who has a body (S. *kanda*, P. *khandha*, Sk. *skandha*).

*Malapulakana*, lit. one who throws up dust; probably referring to the habit of breaking up antheaps. *Mala*, dirt, dust (S. Sk. and P. *mala*); *pula*, throwing (Sk. *prathe*, to throw, cast); *kana*, one who.

*Walbala*, lit. wild dog; *wal* S. jungle, wild (Sk. and P. *vana*); *balā* is either a form of *vala* (S. *valahā*) or a derivative from H. *bhālū* (Sk. *bhālluka*), from which S. *ballā*, dog, is probably also derived. Cf. Sk. *bhashaka*, barker, dog. Nevill notes that *bala* and *vala* are also used for bear.

14. **Beard**, *lompucha* Bl. perhaps from S. *lom* (Sk. and P. *loma*), body hair, and *puca* (Sk. and P. *puccha*), tail (S. *ravula*).

15. **Beautiful**, *rana* B. (S. *rana*).

16. **Become possessed** (*v.*), *awesenawa* L.; *murtawena* O.; *yakaneu* B. (S. *yakāwesakenawā*).

*Awesenawa* from *awesa*, demoniacal possession (Sk. *āveśa*), and S. *venavā*, to become.

*Murtavena* from Sk. *mūrchā*, fainting, swooning.

*Yakaneu* from *yaka*, spirit, and *anu* (S. *vasakenavā*), to be seized or covered.

17. **Bee**, (i) *bambara* (*Apis indica*), *kanda pali* Bl.; *kanda arini* Bl. (S. *bambarā*).

*Kanda pali*; *kanda* from S. *gandha*, scent, perfume, and *pali* (Sk. and P. *ali*), black bee. Possibly *pali* is a compound of *pa*, to drink, and *ali*, i.e. the bee that drinks perfumes. Cf. Sk. *gandhana*, a large black species of bee.

*Kanda arini*; *kanda*, cf. *supra*, *arini*, who takes (S. *hara*, Sk. *hṛi*, to take, to carry). [Mr Gunasekara points out that this expression may also mean "one who lives in the hollow (S. *arapa*) of a trunk (S. *kanda*)." If this explanation be correct *kanda* *arini* cannot refer to *bambara*, for these never build their comb in holes, and when they build in trees their comb is always hung under a branch.]

(ii) stingless bee (*Trigona sp.*), *poti* Bl., perhaps akin to S. *poetawā* or Sk. *pōta*, a young one (S. *pilawā*).

A bee's nest is called *mehi keligama*, "bee village" or "bee house," the nest of the *bambara* is sometimes called *maha mehi keligama*.

18. Belly, *bada* K. (S. *baḍa*).

19. Betel, *nilikola* W.; *pangirikola*, *pengirikola*, W. K. O. U. D. Bl. L. R. T. (S. *bulat*).

*Nilikola*, lit. "dark green" or "dark-coloured leaves," from S. *kola*, leaves, and *nil*, this word being commonly used in Sinhalese for all dark (not black) colours including the darker tints of blue (cf. Chap. XVI, p. 400).

*Pangirikola* from *pangiri* (S. *paeñgiri*), acid, having zest, and *kola*. Fl. and Tl. *pängirikola*.

20. Big, *apade kote* K.; *kudaminete* W.; *malia* D.; *mamakeke* Bl.; *metarati* B. (S. *mahā*, *loku*).

*Apade kote* from *apade*, vast, huge (M. *aphāṭe*), and *kota*, heap, mass (S. *goḍa*).

*Kudaminete* from *kuda* (Sk. *khaṇḍa*), a multitude, or Sk. *gaṇḍa*, mass (S. *goḍa*), and *minete*, measuring or measurement (S. *minita*).

*Malia* from *ma*, big (S. *mā*, *maha*), and *alia*, elephant (S. *aliyā*). Cf. S. *maha ali* (adj.), very large.

*Mamakeke* from *mama*, very big, and *akeke*, one.

*Metarati*, a contraction of *mevitaraeti*, from S. *me*, this, *vitar*, size, and *aeti*, will be.

21. Bird, *cappi* D. Bl.; *kurula* T.; *sakelee* O.; *sappi*, *sappia*, *sappeo*, N. W. G. K. L. R. (S. *kurullā*).

(i) Hawk, *capi* D.; *māil* G.; *velina* N. W. O. (S. *ukussā*).

*Māil*; Mr Parker suggests that this word may perhaps be derived from T. *mayilai*, grey or ash colour.

*Velina*, lit. "the crooked-nosed one" from S. *veli*, crooked, and *na*, nose; cf. Sk. *vakranāsikā*, owl, from *vakra*, crooked.

(ii) Owl, *bakamuna*, *bakuna* G.; *kakutnang kanche* O.; *velina* N. (S. *bakamunā*).

*Bakwmana*, lit. "one having a large face," from S. *baka*, large, *mūnā*, having a face.

*Kakutwang kancha*, lit. "he who eats lizards," from P. *kakaṇṭaka*, lizard, *ng* being the ending of the accusative plural.

*Velina*, cf. Hawk, *supra*.

22. Bite (*v.*), *dothecamando kerenya* D. from *dot*, teeth (S. *dat*), *keca* (S. *kaetiya*), knife or blade, *mando*, with middle, and *kerenya*, to do; the expression would literally mean "to make (it) come between the teeth" (S. *wikanawā*, *hapanawā*).

23. Black, *kaluipoja* D. (S. *kalu*), *v.* p. 391.

24. Blacksmith, *talabacanaca* Bl., lit. one who hammers and welds, from *tala*, having hammered, or who beats (S. *taḷa*), and *bacana*, which may be connected with Sk. and P. *pacha*, to cook, melt (S. *āchāriyā*).

25. Blood, *lepoja* D. Bl. from S. *le*, blood, and *poja*, *v.* p. 391 (S. *lē*, older form *lehe*).

26. Body, *angapoja* K.; *enge* Bl.; *kanda* Tk. (S. *aeñga*, *kanda*, Sk. *śarīraya*).

*Angapoja* from S. *aenga* and *poja*, *v.* p. 391.

*Enge* from *aenga*.

27. Bone, *aca* O.; *atepoja* K. D. (S. *aeṭa*).

28. Bow, *donda* R.; *dunne* B. K.; *ikle* W.; *malaliya* D. Bl. L.; *mandaliya* Tk. (S. *dunna*).

*Donda* from Sk. and P. *kōdaṇḍa*, bow, or from S. *daṇḍa*; cf. No. 4.

*Dunne* from S. *dunna*.

*Malaliya* from S. *mala*, a bow, and *liya*, a stick, rod.

29. Bowstring, *dundia* B.; *puriya* Tk. (S. *dunudiya*).

*Dundia* from S. *dunna*, bow, and *diya*, string. Sk. *jya*, bowstring.

*Puriya*, lit. that by which a bow is drawn from, S. *purana*, to draw a bow (Sk. √*pur*).

30. Break, (*v.*) *patagacena* Bl. *Paṭa* (Sk. *sphuṭ*, P. *phuṭa*, break) means lit. to cause a sound; *gacenawā* (S. *gassanawā*), to cause to strike (S. *kadanawā*).

31. Breast, *bepatte*, *bopata*, B. K.; *lagaca* Bl.; *tanepoja* D.; *tanye* O. (S. *laepattia*, *laya*, *tanī*).

*Bopatte* from *bo* (M. *pōja*), heart, and *patte* (M. *pattia*), surface, exterior part.

*Lagena* from S. *la*, breast, and *gena*, which appears to be corrupted from S. *patte*, side.

*Tampoja*, *tanye*, applied at Bulugahaladena to the female breast, is derived from S. *tanī* and *poja*, *v.* p. 391.

32. Bring (*v.*), *anokalagena mangaccena* D.; *enawarin* B.; *humbeta mangaccnawa* Bl.; *ucagena* K. (S. *genenawā*).

*Anokalagena mangaccena*, lit. to come, having taken things, from (S.) *anokala*, things, *gena*, having taken, and *mangacena*, to come.

*Enawarin*, lit. "come having taken." *Ena* from *gena*, *v. supra*, and *warin* from S. *waren*, come.

*Humbeta mangaccnawa* from *humbeta*, to this place, here (S. *mehata*), and *mangaccnawa*, to come.

*Ucagena* from *uca*, S. *ussā*, having lifted, and *gena*, to bring.

33. Buffalo, *amberawasa* L.; *madaya* U.; *manya* G. L.; *miwa* N. O.; *okma* N.; *tanikura* T.; *wadena* Bl.; *walmanya* K. (S. *mimā*).

*Amberawasa*, lit. horn-bearing calf or bull, from *am*, S. *aṅ*, horn (Sk. *śringa*, P. *singa*), *bera*, S. *bara*, bearing (Sk. and P. *bhara*), and *wasa*, S. *vassā* (Sk. *vatsa*, P. *vaccha*), calf, bull. *Wasa* may also be derived from H. *bhaisā*, buffalo. Fl. *ambaruwā*, buffalo.

*Madaya* is the low-country Sinhalese for a young lusty bull, Sk. *madagama*, buffalo.

*Manya* appears to be a corruption of *madaya*.

*Miwa*, Sk. *mahisha*, P. *mahisa*.

*Okma*, Sk. *uksham*, ox, bull.

*Walmanya*; *wal*, wild, and *manya*, a corruption of *madaya*, *v. supra*.

34. Build (*v.*), *mandekeranawā* Bl., lit. to make a hut, from *mande*, hut, small shed (S. *maḍu*), and *karapawā*, to do, to make (S. *hadanawā*, *tanananawā*).

35. Burn (*v.*), *puccahadal* D. from S. *pucā*, *pulussa*, burning, and *dal*, flame, blaze (S. *dawananawā*, *puccanawā*).

36. Bury (*v.*), *bimpoja pataguccala* D.; *metedaman* L.; *paiga damapennu* B. (S. *wajalanawā*).

*Bimpoja pataguccala* is derived from *bimpodya*, earth, ground, and *pataguala*, digging.

R2.

*Mutidamana*, cf. M. *mitti dênâ*, to bury a corpse. This word may be explained as *muti*, earth (S. *mæti*), and *damana*, to put (S. *damanavâ*), i.e. to put earth over a corpse. In Sinhalese *mæti-damanavâ* is not used in the sense of to bury.

*Pinige damapanna* from *pinige*, dead body (H. and Sk. *preta*) and *damapanna*, throwing away.

37. **Butterfly**, *samanalapi* D. from S. *samanalayâ*, and *sappi*, bird (S. *samanalayâ*).

38. **Buy** (v.), *hingalaging enakale ganana* Bl.; *ridipore enakalek mateketa* D. (S. *miliyata*, or *milavalata*, *gannavâ*).

*Hingalaging enakale ganana*, lit. "to take *enakale* from the Sinhalese." *Hingalaging* is derived from *sinhalayâgen*, *hingala* being commonly substituted for *sinhala* by the peasant Sinhalese of the Veddirata, and *ganana* (S. *gannavâ*) means "to take."

*Enakale* is probably connected with the M. word *itâkâla*, valuables, trifles, small articles.

[This expression was generally stated to mean both "to buy" and "to sell" and this is doubtless correct, for as far as the Veddas were concerned both operations were but aspects of bartering with Sinhalese traders.]

*Ridipore enakalek mateketa*. Mr Parker considers this expression means "having given silver coins for my thing"; *mateketa* appears to be compounded of *magê* (often pronounced *mayê*) and *ekata*, "for my one."

39. **Cave**, *gala* B.; *galkabale* B. (S. *galgê*, *galguhâva*).

*Galkabale* from S. *gal*, stone, and *kabale* (M. *khokhalâ*), cave, den.

40. **Centipede**, *ratya* N., lit. the red one (S. *rat*, Sk. *rakta*, P. *ratta*, red). In S. too, *ratiayâ* is used to signify centipede (S. *pattâyâ*).

41. **Charcoal**, *dalipoje* D. (S. *angura*, *dæli*) from S. *dæli*, burnt, black, charcoal, and *poje*, v. p. 391.

42. **Child**, *hinete* D.; *kakule* Bl.; *ladurane* K.; *pati* Th. (S. *lamayâ*, *pæti*).

*Hinete* from S. *hin*, little, and *ete*, one who is (S. *æti*, Sk. *asti*, is to be).

*Kakule* from S. *kakule*, flower bud.

*Ladurane* from S. *la*, tender (Sk. *bâla*), and *durana* (S. *daruvâ*), child.

*Pati*, cf. S. *pæti*, child, and Sk. *pôta*, the young of any animal.

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43. Chin, *hota* W.; *tale* O. (S. *nikata*).

*Hota*, v. No. 133.

*Tale*, cf. Sk. and P. *talu*, palate.

44. Claw, *kurapeja* D.; *sapige kakul* K. (S. *niya*, *niyapotta*).

*Kurapeja* from S. *kura*, hoof, foot, and *peja*, v. p. 391.

*Sapige kakul* from S. *kakul*, feet, and *sapige*, of a bird (v. p. 394).

45. Cloth, *kenam* Bl. L.; *kenam peja* R.; *pilala* W.; *watre* O. (S. *pili*, *redda*, *wata*).

*Kenam*, T. *kōvanam*, Sk. *kaupina*, a strip of cloth worn over the pudenda.

*Kenam peja*, v. *supra* and p. 391.

*Pilala*, cf. Sk. and P. *paṭa*, *paṭi*, cloth.

*Watre*, cf. Sk. *vastra*, P. *vattha*, cloth.

46. Cloud, *wala* K., cf. Sk. and P. *valāhaka*, cloud (S. *walākuwa*, *walākulu*).

47. Coconut, *kasapengediya* Th.; *gaigedi* W. U.; *kirigedi*, *kirigedi*, *kirigediya* O. D. Bl.; *wangedia* L. (S. *pol*).

*Kasapengediya* from *kasa* (Sk. *kāntika*), [illegible], *pen*, water (S. *pen*, Sk. and P. *pāniya*), and *gediya*, fruit. This word is also used by the Kandyan Sinhalese. Cf. Sk. *kantikaphala*, coconut tree.

*Kirigedi* from S. *kiri*, milk, milky juice, and *gedi* (S. *gediya*), fruit.

*Wangedia*, lit. fruit with water, from *wan* (Sk. P. and S. *vana*), water, and *gediya*, fruit, cf. Sk. *jalaphala* (*jala*, water, and *phala*, fruit), coconut.

48. Coconut-milk, *rangkiri dalue* W., lit. "golden milk juice," *rang* (S. *ran*), golden, being used by Veddas as "excellent"; *dalue* probably means white juice from S. *dala* (P. and Sk. *dhavala*), white, and *uda* (Sk. *udaka*), water, these words are combined to give *daluda*, whence *dalue*.

49. Cold, *angaudamal* D. from *anga* (Sk. and P.), body, *ada*, cold, and *mal* a corruption of S. *kal*, time, or S. *mahal*, rainy season (S. *sisil*).

50. Come (v.), *anahala gunyayi* D.; *kumbala mangacocuwa* D.; *mahata mangacapa* T.; *milagacocuwa* W. L. (S. *enawā*).

*Anahala gunyayi* from *anahala*, things, and *gunyayi*, take. "Taking things" indicates activity and so movement towards p12.

someone or something, hence perhaps the idea of coming. Or *gonyayé* may be connected with *gonyayé*, approach, move, and *ambale* with M. *ibadi*, this side, here.

*Humbate mangammane* from *humbate*, here, and *mangammane*, to move (v. f. n. p. 390).

*Mitagammane* from *mita*, here, and *gammane* (*mangammane*).

51. Cook (v.), *talamdala pacahadenya* Bl. (S. *pisanavā*, *uyanavā*) from *talime*, in the pan (M. *thale*, Sk. *sthala*), *dala*, having put (Sk. *ri*, to put), *paca*, to cook (Sk. and P. *paca*), and *hadenya*, to seethe (M. *ukade*, *kadhe*).

52. Crocodile, *mahabade* O.; *pitagana*, *pitagana*, *pitaganiya* N. D. Bl. (S. *kimbula*(?)).

*Mahabade*, lit. he who has a large head, *maha* S., large, and *bada* (M. *bāda*), head.

*Pitagana*, *pitaganiya*, lit. he who goes on his belly, from *pita*, belly (H. *pīta*), and *gana*, that which goes.

53. Cry out (v.), *andatalapa* B.; *korgamma* Bl. (S. *kēgasanavā*).

*Andatalapa* from S. *aṇḍa*, cry, and *talapa* (S. *talanavā*), to beat, strike, speak. This seems to be the imperative form.

*Korgamma* from *kōr* (S. *kō*), to cry, yell, and *gamma* (S. *gasanavā*), strike, make.

54. Cry, weep (v.), *hitpaja asadamala* D. (S. *aṇḍanavā*).

*Hitpaja*, heart, *asa*, raise (S. *asā*, earned, Sk. and P. *ussa*, high), and *damala*, putting down. [This expression seems to refer to the motion of the thorax when sobbing.]

55. Cut with axe (v.), *galvakijing labacanavā* Bl., from *galvakijing*, with the axe (v. No. 7), and *labacanavā* from Sk. *rabhasa*, violence, or from Sk. *lu*, to cut (causative form *lāvayati*) (S. *porovena kapanavā*).

56. Dance (v), *otadamanya* Bl.; *pisiami* W. (S. *natanavā*).

*Otadamanya*, "to move in a circle," from *ota*, S. *vaṭa* (Sk. *vṛitta*, P. *vaṭṭa*), round, and *damanya*, to jump (Sk. *jhampa*, jumping).

*Pisiami*, cf. Sk. *praspand*, to tremble, to quiver.

57. Deer, (i) Axis deer (*Cervus axis*), *ambera* L.; *dopatam magula* W.; *gambera podaga* W.; *haberaya*, *haberaa* O. D. Bl. L.; *haera* N. U.; *welhaparamaga* T. (S. *muvā*).

*Ambera* from Sk. *kambara*, deer. This word is distinct from *ambera* in No. 33 *supra*, cf. Sk. *ambarisha*, a young animal.

*Depatam magula*, lit. two-antlered deer, from *de*, two, *patam*, antler, and *magula*, deer. (Sk. *mṛiga*, P. *miga*, deer, beast. Also P. *magī*, deer.)

*Kaura* probably from Sk. *gaura*, a species of deer.

(ii) Sambar (*Rusa unicolor*), *gonara* N.; *gonara magula* W. L.; *gonara kala* W.; *hulica* G.; *kankuṇā*, *kankuni* O. D. Bl. L. T.; *kerigona* U.; *walpengira* N. (S. *gōnā*).

*Gonara* may be from Sk. *gaura*, a kind of deer, or from Sk. *gavaya*, a kind of ox.

*Magulā*, v. axis deer, *supra*.

*Gonara kala* from *gonera*, *gonara*, dusky white, and *kala* (Sk. P. *kala*), one who makes a jingling noise.

*Hulica* from Sk. *sulocana*, deer.

*Kankuṇā* may mean one whose ears (S. *kan*) are dirty (S. *kuṇu*), or it may be connected with Sk. *karṇa-urṇa*, a kind of deer (from *karṇa*, ear, and *urṇa*, wool, i.e. one having wool in its ears). *Karṇa-ūrṇa* or its combined form *karṇorṇa* is not known to have been used in Sinhalese, and even in Sanskrit it is not a common word and is not given in Professor Wilson's Sanskrit dictionary, though *karṇa* and *urṇa* have both been used in Ceylon. ["Dirty ears" was the meaning attached to *kankuṇa* by the peasant Sinhalese with whom we discussed the origin of the word, the Veddas did not appear to have considered the matter. The two well-developed black patches on the concha of the sambar's ear make this name particularly appropriate.]

*Kerigōna* from *keri*, black, and *gonā*, buck, bull.

*Walpengira* from S. *wal*, wild, and *pengirā*, a young sturdy animal.

(iii) Mouse deer (*Tragulus meminna*), *agudja* N.; *duse* N. (S. *mīminnā*).

*Agudja*, lit. one who sports about, from Sk. *ākrīḍa*, sporting.

*Duse*, perhaps originally *puse*, from Sk. *pṛiṣata*, small deer.

98. Destroy (*v.*), *patagunela mando kerela damanya* D., from *pata-gunela*, having broken, *mando kerela*, having made small or defective (S. *madda*, small, defective), and *damanya*, to throw away (Sk. √*dhama*).

99. Die (*v.*), *betadamana*, *mainbetadamanawa* D. Bl.; *botagia* T.; *gia* L.; *maeyu* K. (S. *mărepenavā*).

*Betadamana* from S. *bata*, body, and *damanawa*, to become calm.

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*Miekotadomanawa* from *mie*, to die (Sk. √*mri*), and *kota-damanawa*, *v. supra.*

*Botagie* from *bota* (*v. supra*), and *gie*, dead, cf. Sk. *gata*, departed, dead (√*gam*, to go); *gie* is probably a contraction of S. *malagiya*, "dead and gone." In S. *giya* is never used in the sense of dead.

*Naeyu* from *narne*, to go; *naeyu*, departed (from this world).

60. **Dig** (*v.*), *bimpoja pataganna* D. from *bimpoja*, earth, ground, and *pataganna*, to break (S. *hārapannā*).

61. **Dig a grave** (*v.*), *polowa pataganna* Bl. from *polowa* (*poḷova*), earth, and *pataganna*, *v.* No. 30 (S. *walak hārapannā*).

62. **Digging stick**, *danda* D. (S. *daṇḍa*).

63. **Dog**, *balakukka* N. T.; *balumenya* Bl.; *kuka*, *kukka* N. W. K. D. Bl. T. (S. *balla*, *kukka*).

*Balakukka*, lit. wild dog, from S. *wal*, wild, and *kukka*, dog.

*Balumenya* from *balu*, dog, and *menya* (Sk. and P. √*man*, to sound), barker.

64. **Door**, *poragamata rukulana rukalai* Bl. from *poragamata*, to the house, *rukulana*, which is fixed or attached, and *rukalai* S., support, related to Sk. √*raksha*, P. *rakkha*, to protect, to guard (S. *dora*).

65. **Drink** (*v.*), *diapoja hewilana* D. from *diapoja*, water, and *hewilana* from *kewi*, to eat, and *la* (used as an auxiliary), put (S. *bonawā*).

66. **Drip** (*v.*), *capi manganawanā* D. from *capi*, drop (M. *tapa*, *tapakā*), and *manganawanā*, *v.* No. 50 (S. *binda watenawā*).

67. **Dwell** (*v.*), *randadomana* D. from *randa*, staying, and *domana* (in), house, condition (Sk. *dhāman*) (S. *raňdenawā*, *navatinawā*).

68. **Ear**, *kanrukula* D. Bl.; *rukulu* K. (S. *kana*).

*Kanrukula*, lit. that which helps hearing, from *kan* (S. *kana*), ear, and *rukula*, *v.* No. 73.

69. **Earth**, *bipe* K. (S. *bima*).

70. **Eat** (*v.*), *anaganapan* B.; *enalapu* K.; *hewilanya* Bl.; *hewila-damana* T.; *hewilan* D.

*Anaganapan* from S. *ana*, food (Sk. and P. *anna*), and *ganapan*, to take (probably imperative).

*Enalapu* from *ena*, food, and *lapu*, to eat (Sk. √*glas*, to ea devour); *pu* in S. is an ending.

*Kewilanya*, from *kewi*, to eat, and S. *la*, to put, used as an auxiliary

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*Kavillidamana* from *kavilli*, eatables, and *damana*, to put.

*Kewilan*, *v.* *kavilanya*.

71. Egg, *bide* N.; *capi bitera* D.; *kakula randala indinepotai* Bl.; *sapi biju* W. (S. *bijuwa*, *bijaya*).

*Bide*, cf. Sk. and P. *bija*.

*Capi bitera* from *cappi*, bird, and *bitera*, egg (S. *bittara*, corn, grain).

*Kakula randala indinepotai* from *kakula*, child, young, *randala indine*, staying, and *potai*, covering, receptacle (Sk. *puṭa*). *Potai* may also be from S. *potta*, shell, but it can hardly be from S. *paeṭi* (Sk. *pōta*), young one, owing to *kakula* at the beginning of the expression.

*Sapi biju*, lit. bird's egg.

72. Elephant, *botakabala* N. W.; *botakanda* K. U. D. Bl. R. T.; *gomeru uhale* L.; *mola* N. G.; *relle* O. (S. *aetā*, *aliyā*).

*Botakabala*, lit. the big-bodied one having strength, from S. *bota*, big (Sk. *brahat*), *ka*, body (S. *ka* or *kā*, Sk. and P. *kāya*), and *bala*, S., Sk. and P., strength.

*Botakanda*, lit. the big-bodied one, from S. *bota*, big, *kanda*, body (P. *khandha*, *skandha*).

*Gomeru uhale*, lit. the dusky white tall one, from S. *gōmara*, dusky white, and *uhala* (S. *uhallā*), tall one.

*Mola*, lit. the huge one, from S. *bola*, thickness, solidity (M. and H. *mōlā*, big).

*Relle*, lit. he who has wrinkles, from S. *raella*, wrinkle.

73. Eye, *acaldeka* O.; *airukula* Bl.; *aiyarukula* D.; *aslonjia* W.; *etcal* K. (S. *aesa*, *æhae*).

*Acaldeka* from *acal*, eye-ball, and S. *deka*, two.

*Airukula*, *aiyarukula* from *ai*, *aiya*, S. *æhae*, eye, and *rukula*, the meaning of which is obscure, for here it can scarcely represent the S. "support," "stay." Perhaps it refers to an attribute shared by the eye and tongue, *v.* No. 175.

*Aslonjia* from *as*, S. *æs*, eye, and *lonjia* (Sk. and P. *lōcana*), sight, eye.

*Etcal*, cf. Sk. *akshigōḷa*, P. *acchigōḷa*, eye-ball.

74. Face, *hoca* K.; *kota* W. from S. *koasa*, snout, mouth.

75. Fall (*v.*), *gulahopa* W.; *pataganca vetige* Bl.; *vetige* B. (S. *vaeṭe-nawā*).

*Gulakepa* from *gale* (Sk. and P. *√gal*), to fall, and *kepa*, let go (Sk. *kship*, P. *khepa*).

*Patagaan vetige* from *pata* (S. *pāta*), down (Sk. *pata*, falling), *gaan*, going (P. *gacchati*, goes), and *vetige* (S. *væṭenavā*), fall.

76. Far off, *mamahaap mangaanawā* Bl.; *mamahas* D.; *ole* B.; *otemite* K. (S. *æta*).

*Mamahaap mangaanawā*, lit. to go a great distance, from *mamah*, big, great, *aap*, distance (Sk. and H. *apeakṣita*), and *mangaanawā*, to go.

*Mamahas* from *mama*, very greatly (S. *mahama*), and *has* (Sk. *krishta*), drawn away, indicating distance; *as* may also be corrupted from S. *æta*.

*Ole* from *ola* is an old Sinhalese word used also as a pronoun (*he*, *you*) to show respect.

*Otemite*, cf. Sk. *atyanta*, much, very much, or from *ote*, S. *æta*, distant, and *mite* (S. *miti*), measurement.

77. Fear (v.), *angoos damanya* D.; *boweri heranawā* K. (S. *baya-venavā*).

*Angoos damanya*, lit. to afflict the body with trembling, from *anga*, body, *os*, trembling (Sk. and P. *os*), and *damanya*, to afflict (Sk. *√dama*).

*Boweri heranawā* from *bo*, heart, *weri*, strength (Sk. *virya*, P. *viriya*, S. *viru*), and *heranawa*, to leave, to lose (S. and P. *hara*, to take away).

78. Feather, *oppihola* D. Bl. from *oppi*, bird, and *hola*, leaf (S. *pihāṭṭu*).

79. Finger, *angilipoja* D. from *angili* (S. *æṅgili*), finger (Sk. and P. *aṅguli*), and *poja*, v. p. 391 (S. *æṅgilla*).

80. Fire, *gine* K.; *gini poja* D. Bl.; *ratumala* W. (S. *gini*).

*Gine poja* from S. *gini*, and *poja*, v. p. 391.

*Ratumala* from S. *ratu*, red, and *mala* (Sk. *mālā*), group, cluster.

81. Fish, *diamas*, *dia masa*, *dia masi* W. D. Bl.; *hiamas* B.; *kudamaas*, *kudamassa* G. K. T. (S. *mas*, *māḷu*).

*Diamas*, lit. water-flesh, from S. *dia*, water, and *mas* (S. *mas*), flesh.

*Hiamas* from S. *hīn*, dead, killed, small, and *mas* (S. *mas*), flesh.

*Kudamaas* from S. *kuḍā*, small, and *maas*, flesh. *Kuda* is the ancient form of S. *kuḍā*. [Mr Parker points out that *kudamasas* in Sinhalese means "small fishes."]

82. Flesh, *malu* K. (S. *mālu*).

83. Flower, *malpoja* D. from *mal*, flower, and *poja*, *v.* p. 391 (S. *mala*). 192

84. Fly, *nilaya* K., cf. Sk. *nili*, a species of blue fly (S. *massā*).

85. Foot, *kura* W.; *paiapatula* Bl. (S. *paya*, *aḍiya*).

*Kura*, S. hoof.

*Paiapatula* from *paia*, S. *paya*, foot, and *patula*, surface of the foot.

86. Ghost, *newana* K., lit. one who vanishes from sight, S. *nuvana*, cf. Sk. *nirvāṇa*, vanishing from sight, disappearance (S. *avatāraya*).

87. Give, *anokalanawa* Bl.; *enokalanya* D.; *den* K. (S. *denawā*).

*Anokalanawa* from *anokal* (S. *ōnǟkala*), when necessary, and *anawā* (*hanawa*, Sk. √*hā*), to abandon, give up.

*Enokalanya* from *enokal*, things, and *lanya*, put.

*Den* from S. *dev*, give (imp.).

88. Go (*v.*), *mangacenawa* D.; *mitagacapan* B.; *naman* L.; *numa* W. B. K. O.; *yanda mangacan* T. (S. *yanawā*).

*Mangacenawa*, *v.* No. 50.

*Mitagacapan* from *mita* (S. *mehāṭa*), this side, and *gacapan*, go; this appears to be the imperative.

*Numa* appears to be connected with Sk. *nigam*, to go to, or may be a corruption of S. *yama*, go (imp.).

*Yanda mangacan* from *yanda* (S. *yanṭa*), to go, and *mangacan*, to move.

89. Good, *handa* D. (S. *hoňda*).

90. Gun, *pucanche* Bl., *pucanche*, lit. one that burns, from S. *pucene*, that which burns, and *cha*, one (S. *tuvakkuwa*).

91. Hair, *isaka* D.; *isuka* K.; *issekaya poja* D.; *lombuca* Bl.; *rambie* T. (S. hair of the head, *isakē*, of the body, *lom*).

*Isaka* from S. *iya*, head, and *kē*, hair of the head.

*Isuka*, probably a corruption of *iyaka*.

*Issekaya poja*. *Issekaya* from S. *isa*, head, and *kaya* (*Kaya ?*), S. *kayya*, *kehe*, Sk. *kēśa*, P. *kēsa*.

92. Hand, *athandia* W.; *atkira* O. (S. *ata*).

*Athandia* from S. *at*, *ata*, hand, and *tandia*, *taṇḍa*, *daṇḍa*, *v.* No. 4.

*Atkira* from *at* and *kira*, S. *kara*, neck. Cf. S. *atkara*.

*Rombie*, cf. Sk. *roma*, hair of body.

*Lombuva*, lit. hair tail, or flowing like a tail, from S. *lom*, hair, and *buva* (Sk. and P. *puccha*), tail.

93. Head, *iskabe*, *iskabala*, *eskabala* W. D. Bl.; *iggudee* K. (S. *hisa*, *isa*).

*Iskabala* from *is*, S. *isa*, head, and *kabala*, skull, cover (Sk. and P. *kapāla*).

*Iggudee* from *gudee*, a thing like a fruit, a knot, and *iga*, from S. *isa*.

94. Hear (v.), *kampeja mandewana* D.; *kawrukkala bitalanya* Bl. (S. *asanawā*, *ahenawā*).

*Kampeja mandewana* from *kampeja*, ear, *mande* (Sk. *madhya*, P. *majjha*), in the middle, and *wena* (Sk. and P. *svara*), to sound.

*Kawrukkala bitalanya* from *kawrukkala*, to hear, and *bitalanya*, to pervade; cf. Sk. and P. √*vicar*, pass through.

95. Hill, *galhewa* D.; *goda* K.; *hela* W. O.; *heme* T.; *kandapeja* Bl. (S. *kanda*).

*Galhewa* from S. *gal*, stone, and *hewa*, rock (M. *hāpaū*, *khaḍaka*, rock).

*Goda* from S. *goḍa* (M. *gaḍḍa*, *goṭa*), a heap, lump.

*Hela*, cf. P. *sila*, Sk. *saila*, hill, rock.

*Heme*, cf. Sk. and P. *hima*, the Himalaya mountains.

*Kandapeja* from S. *kanda*, group, body, and *peja*, v. p. 391.

96. Hiss (v.), *hewalak kienawā* B. from Sk. *sitmakāra*, hissing sound, and *kienawa*, S. *kiyanawā*, to say (S. *sūgānawā*, *sū kiyanawa*).

97. Honey, *kanda arini pataganeperawā* Bl.; *kirimirinanga* O.; *massimiria* B.; *penye* K.; *ural* W. (S. *mīpaṇi*).

*Kanda arini pataganeperawā*, lit. what is deposited by the bees. *Kanda arini* bees (v. No. 17), *pataganeperawā*, that which is deposited.

*Kirimirinanga* from *kiri* (Sk. *kshudra*), bee; S. *miri*, sweet, *n*, expletive, and S. *anga*, part, thing.

*Massimiria* from *massi* (S. *messi*, M. *mās*), bee; *midi* and *miria*, v. *supra*.

*Penyi* from T. *pani*, honey.

*Ural*, lit. that which is sucked up, cf. T. *urital*, act of suckin up, or perhaps from Sk. and M. *kshaudra*, honey, which ma be corrupted to *kaduru*, *aduru*, *urudu*, *urulu*, *ural*.

98. Honeycomb, *ilaha* W.; *toll* O. (S. *mīvada*).

*Ilaha*, cf. T. *iṟāl*, honeycomb.

*Toll*, cf. M. *pōll*, honeycomb.

99. Hot, *radamangala* D.; *utuma*, *utuma* K. (S. *usne*).

*Rada* from S. *rada*, sun's rays (Sk. *rashmi*, P. *rasmi*); *man*, S. *mīdiya*, hot, perspiring (Sk. and P. *nidāgha*); *gala* (*kala*), time (Sk. and P. *kāla*).

*Utuma*, cf. M. *ūṣṇa*, M. and P. *uṇha*, Sk. *uṣṇa*.

100. House, *peragama* Bl.; *perapala* D. (S. *ge*).

*Peragama* from *pera*, village (S., Sk. and P. *pura*, town, city), and S. *gama*, house, home, forming part of a village, or *gama* may be a corruption of Sk. *dhāma*, house; cf. S. *gamgeda*, village, lit. a collection of houses, and *minimadigam*, house of a deceased person.

*Perapala* from *pera*, *v. supra*, and *pala* (S. *pala*), hut.

101. Infant, *lakalala* D. from *la*, tender, and *kalala*, *v.* No. 42 (S. *bilindā*).

102. Iron, *gabasi* Bl. from *gabi*, black (?), and *asi*, metal (Sk. *ayas*), or perhaps from *gabi*, in the middle, inside (Sk. *garbha*, P. *gabbha*), and *asi*, fire (S. *ani*, Sk. *agni*), *i.e.* lit. "that which has fire inside it" (S. *yakada*).

103. Jackal, *hivalla* N.; *kunukala* O.; *valla* N.; *wallukka* N. (S. *hivala*, *sivala*, *naria*).

*Hivalla*, cf. Sk. *śṛgāla*, P. *sigāla*, H. *siyāl*.

*Kunukala* from *kunu*, crying out (Sk. √*kruś*), and S. *balla*, dog.

*Valla*, probably a corruption of *wallballa*, wild dog.

*Wallukka* from S. *val*, wild, and *kukka*, dog.

104. Jungle, *kale*, *kala*, W. K.; *kala* O.; *kalapala* Bl. (S. *kaelāva*, *kaelaé*).

*Kale* is probably connected with Sk. and P. *kalila*, entangled.

*Kala*, cf. T. *kāḍu*, Sk. *kānana*, jungle.

105. Kill (v.), *botadamanya* Bl.; *nijapala damamana* B. (S. *maranavā*).

*Botadamanya* from *bota*, body, and *damanya*, to restrain (cf. Sk. √*dam*, to restrain).

*Nijapala damamana* from *nijapala*, having caused to die, having killed (cf. S. *miya*, to die, from Sk. √*mṛ*), and *damamana*.

106. Knife, *pihakata* O. from *piha*, knife, and *kata* (T. *katti*), cutter (S. *pihiya*).

R2 107. Know (v.), *hitalagus* D. from S. *hita*, mind, and *laga*, to receive, to put; cf. Sk. and P. √*hi* (S. *dannawā*).

108. Leaf, *kolapaja* Bl. from S. *kola*, leaf, and *paja*, v. p. 391.

109. Leg, *kuripatala* O.; *paidanda* Bl. (S. *kakula*, *kakula*).

*Kuripatala* from *kuri*, *kura*, foot, and *patala*, leg, derived from *pa*, foot, and T. *tala*, stem, stalk.

*Paidanda* from *paia* (S. *paya*), foot, and S., Sk. and P. *daṇḍa*, staff.

110. Leopard, *divia*, *diya* W. R.; *kotiketia* T.; *kotia* G.; *mita* N. W.; *palacca* N.; *palaca*, *palatan*, W. K. D. Bl. L.; *walkaparubala* L. (S. *diviyā*, *kotiyā*).

*Diya*, cf. P. *dīpi*, Sk. *dvīpi*.

*Mita*, probably a corruption of H. *cītā*.

*Palacca*, cf. T. *puli*, tiger, leopard. This word may also be derived from T. *pulli*, spots.

*Walkaparubala*, lit. spotted jungle dog, from *wal*, jungle, wild, *kaparu* (S., Sk. and P. *kabara*), variegated, piebald, and *bala*, dog.

111. Lime (CaO), *galmada* L.; *huma* K.; *karampaja* B. R.; *patakenda* O.; *patakenda pupapu kapana* W.; *takipuccapu alu* Bl. T.; *takipaja* D. (S. *hunu*).

*Galmada* perhaps from S. *gal*, stone, and *mada*, kernel (Sk. *madhya*).

*Huma*, cf. Sk. *cūrṇa*, P. *cuṇṇa*.

*Karampaja*, cf. T. *kāram*, Sk. *kṣāra*, ashes; for *paja*, v. p. 391.

*Patakenda pupapu kapana*, lit. "that which is prepared for chewing by burning shells and slaking them," from *pata* (Sk. *śaṅkha*), shell, *kenda* (S. *kenda*), having roasted (burnt), *pupapu*, slaked (Sk. √*puṣpa*, P. *puppha*, to expand), and *kapana*, what is chewed (*sapanawā* or *kapanawā*, to chew, H. *cabānā*, M. *cāvanī*).

*Takipuccapu alu* from *taki*, the shells of *wantakka* (*Cyclophorus involvulus*), *puccapu* (S. *puccapu*), burnt, and S. *alu*, ashes. *Puccapu* is the colloquial form of *pilissu*.

112. Live, be alive (v.), *hondawage*, *randabacala* D. (S. *innawā*, *papaetiwa-innawā*).

*Hondawage* from *honda*, good, well, and *wage*, to live (M. *wagana*).

*Randabacala* from *randa*, having stayed, and *bacala*, living, cf. S. and P. *vasa*.

113. **Lizard,** (i) Monitor lizard (*Varanus bengalensis*), *bimbadu* W.; *ganeka, ganava* W.; *goya* G.; *munda, mundi,* U. Bl. L. R. T.; *munge* D. (S. *goyā, talagoyā*).

*Bimbadu,* lit. one who goes rubbing its belly on the ground, from S. *bim,* ground, earth, and *badu* (S. *bada*), belly.

*Ganeka* or *ganava,* lit. one who rubs (its belly on the ground), from S. *gāna ekā,* one who rubs.

*Munda* may be connected with Sk. and P. *muṇḍa,* shaved, bald, the body of the monitor lizard not being covered with hair or feathers like that of most other animals known to the Veddas.

ii) Small Lizard, *kotaka* W.; *huna* O.; *kike* N. (S. *hūnā*).

*Kotaka* from Sk. *kṛikavaku,* lizard.

114. **Louse,** *iakabala kavelanika* D.; *ikinne* Bl.; *olu gediya kaneka* O. (S. *ukuṇā*).

*Iakabala kavelanika,* lit. one who eats (or bites) the head, from S. *iakabalu,* head, and *kavelanika,* one who eats.

*Olu gediya kaneka,* lit. one who eats the head, from S. *olugeḍiya,* head, *kana,* eating, and *ekā,* one.

115. **Make, do** (*v.*), *langacenawa* B. Cf. M. *ragadanē,* to do (generally) in a hurried, tumultuous, reckless style (S. *karaṇawā*).

116. **Man,** *bota* T.; *mina* K. D.; *minigeja* Bl. (S. *minihā*).

*Bota.* M. *bhōṇḍā,* adult male, P. *buḍḍha,* Sk. *vṛiddha,* old man. Some Veddas use the form *buḍā* (f. *buḍī*).

*Minigeja,* lit. human person, from *mini,* human (Sk. *manushya*), and *geja,* connected with M. *gadi,* person, e.g. *brahmanagadi,* a brahman.

117. **Milk,** *kekulati kevulanika* D., lit. (that) which is fed to the child, *v.* No. 42 (S. *kiri*).

118. **Monkey,** (i) *wandura* (*Semnopithecus sp.*), *basaloka* K.; *botakuna* W.; *buṭwandura* K.; *kandenatanaca* O.; *keriwandura* U. D. Bl. L. T.; *kolanda mina* K.; *kokka* N.; *manya* G.; *munakuna* N.; *ude kelina* W. L. (S. *wandurā*).

*Basaloka,* lit. big reviling one, from *base,* reviling, and *loka,* big one (S. *lokka*).

*Botakuna* from S. *boṭa,* body, and *kuṇā,* who is black.

*Buṭwandura* from *but* (*S. bota*), big, and *wandura.*

*Kandenatanaca,* lit. one who dances (among the) tree trunks from S. *kañda,* trunk of a tree, *naṭana,* dancing, and *eca* (*ekā*), one.

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*Kariwanduru* from *kari*, black, and *wanduru*.

*Kalanda mina*, lit. jumping man, from *kalanda* (M. *kalañcha*), to jump, and *mina*, *minihā*, man [or as Mr Parker suggests from *kolas*, leaves, and *damannā*, he who throws down].

*Kokka* appears to be an onomatopoeic word in imitation of the animal's cry.

*Manya*, probably a corruption of S. *wandura* (*v.* No. 33).

*Munakuna*, lit. one whose face is black, from S. *muṇa*, face, and *kiwa* (S. *kiļu*), black.

*Uda helina*, lit. he who sports on high (trees), from S. *uḍa*, high (on trees), and *helina* (S. *keḷinnā*, he who sports).

119. **Moon**, *delungrajal* B.; *handa* K.; *handageya* B.; *handapoja* D. Bl. (S. *haňda*).

*Delungrajal* from √*devula*, sky (S. *devlō*, Sk. *divyalōka*); *uagra*, powerful, intense (Sk. *ugra*); *jal*, flame, light, torch (Sk. *jvāla*, P. *jāla*).

*Handageya* from S. *handa*, moon, and *geya* (Sk. *graha*), planet.

120. **Mosquito**, *ramaee hawaladana me poja* D. (S. *maduruwā*), lit. the small black fly that bites at night, from *rama*, black, *ee* (S. *se*), shade, night, at night, *hawaladana*, who is engaged in biting, *me*, fly (S. *mäksi*), and *poja* from *podi*, small.

121. **Mouse**, *miya* N. from S. *miyā*.

122. **Mouth**, *katahabale* W.; *kataruhula* K. D. Bl. (S. *kaṭa*, *muwa*).

*Katahabale*, here *habala* seems to take the sense of cover, lid, which the Sk. *kapāla* has.

*Kataruhula*, lit. that which helps to make a sound, cf. S. *kaṭa*, mouth, Sk. and P. *kaṇṭha*, throat, from √*kaṇa*, to sound, *rukula*, *v.* No. 73.

123. **Near**, *mettamai*, *metatenmai*, B. Bl.; *metetena* D. (S. *laṅga*).

*Metatenmai*, lit. this very place, from *meta*, this (S. *mē*), and *tenmai*, this very place (S. *tanamai*).

*Metetena* from *mete* (S. *mäṭa*), near, and *tena* (S. *tæna*), place.

124. **Nest**, *capirandana gampoja* Bl.; *gote* N.; *sapigote* W. (S. *kūḍuwa*).

*Capirandana gampoja* from *cappi*, bird, *randana*, S. staying, remaining, *gam*, house, and *poja*, *v.* p. 391.

*Sapigote* from *sappi*, bird, and *gote* (S. *goḍuwa*), nest. In Sinhalese *goḍuwa* is generally applied to an ants'-nest built of leaves. [Mr Parker tells us that *gōṭē* meaning "bird's nest" is used by Kandyans.]

125. **New**, *eirinemeke* D., lit. one (thing) of this moment itself, cf. Sk. *idānīntana*, present, of the present moment, *eka*, S. one (S. *alut*).

126. **Night**, *ramasavena* D. from *rame* (Sk. *rāma*), obscure, dark-coloured, black, and *savena* (S. *sevaṇa*), shade (S. *rae*, *rātri*).

127. **No, none**, *kodei* B. O. Bl.; *ne* W. (S. *nä*).

*Kodei* may be connected with M. *khoṭai*, want of reality, non-existent, no, or perhaps it is corrupted from S. *koyida*, *koyinda*, where? where have I? indicating absence of the thing desired.

*Ne*, cf. Sk. and M. *na*.

128. **Nose**, *nahedande*, *naidaṇḍe* D. Bl.; *nayekabala* K. (S. *nāsaya*, *nāhe*).

*Naidaṇḍe* from *nai*, S. *nāhe*, nose (Sk. and P. *nāsā*), and S., Sk. and P. *daṇḍa*, staff, trunk, cf. Sk. *nāsā daṇḍa*, bone of the nose, bridge of the nose.

*Nayekabala* from *nāhe*, nose, and *kabala*, v. No. 130.

129. **Open** (*v.*), *patagaccha* D., v. No. 30 (S. *arinavā*).

130. **Pangolin** (*Manis pentadactyla*), *bagusa* W.; *eya* N.; *kabalelewa* N. (S. *kaballäwā*).

*Kabalele* from S. *kabala*, shell, and *äyā*, pangolin.

131. **Path**, *manga* K.; cf. Sk. *mārga* (S. *maga*, *mañga*).

132. **Peel** (*v.*), *patagacanawa* Bl. from *pata*, S. and Sk. *paṭṭa*, rind, and *gacanawa*, to strip (Sk. √*ghrish*, rub) (S. *paṭṭagahanawā*).

133. **Pig**, *dola* K. N. U. L. R. T.; *hocodika* O. D. Bl.; *hoandika* W.; *hota baria*, *kotua* G. (S. *ura*).

*Dola*, lit. long-lipped (or snouted) one, from S. *tolā*, *tollā*, long-lipped. The form *dollā* also occurs; *dala*, in Sk. *vāgdala* (*vāk*, *vāc*, and *dala*, lip) is probably connected with *dolā* and S. *tola*, lip. Cf. Sk. *dala*, blade of a weapon, which becomes *tala* in Sinhalese.

*Hoandika*, lit. long-snouted one, from *hoa* (S. *hoṇḍa*), snout (Sk. *ōshṭha*, lip) and *dikā* (S. *digā*), long.

*Hota baria*, lit. one having a heavy or hanging snout, from *hota*, snout (P. *oṭṭha*, Sk. *ōshṭha*), and *baria*, heavy, hanging (S. *bara*); *baria* may also mean one who bears, cf. Sk. √*bhṛi*, to bear.

*Kotua* from S. *koṭā*, a hog.

134. **Plant** (*v.*), *bimpojjage mande kerenya* D. from *bimpojjage*, of the earth, *mande*, middle, and *kerenya*, to do (S. *indanavā*).

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135. Porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*), *itana* G.; *katubeiko* T.; *katukaw* D. (S. *ittœvā*).

*Itana* from S. *it*, *iti*, spines, and *dana*, *dyā*, pangolin.

*Katubeiko*, lit. one (bearing) many thorns, from S. *katu*, thorns, *bo*, many, *iko* (*ekā*), one.

*Katukaw*, lit. (he who has) thorn-blades, from S. *katu* and *kaw*, he who has blades. Cf. Sk. *kavitakigāva*, porcupine.

136. Pot, *pusia kanakanda* D.; *talana* Bl. (S. *kale*, *magul kale*, *muttiyakalale*).

*Pusia kanakanda* from *pusia*, burnt, and *kanakanda*, (a thing) from which (one) eats, i.e. a burnt earthen pot.

*Talana* is connected with S. and T. *tali*, Sk. *sthāli*.

137. Rain, *diadamaya* D.; *sil pona nil* K. (S. *wessa*).

*Diadamaya* from S. *dia*, water, and *damanya*, that which casts or throws away, cf. Sk. √*dhima*.

*Sil pona nil* from *sil*, sky, *pona* (Sk. *pata*), falling, and *nil* (Sk. *nira*), water.

138. Rice, *dopotalam*, *dopotala* W. O. D. Bl. L. R.; *hudu hamba* W.; *mulitang* L. (S. *bat*, *vi*).

*Dopotalam* from *do* (Sk. √*jīv*), to subsist on, and *potalam* (Sk. *vartula*), round, i.e. corn.

*Hudu hamba* from *hudu*, white or cooked (Sk. *sūda*, to cook), and *hamba* (S. *samba*, T. *sampā*), a kind of rice.

*Mulitang* from S. *mulutan*, food prepared for the gods or kings.

139. Rilawa (*Macacus*, *sp.*), *baccharna* N.; *betalama* N. G.; *kandapanina* L.; *keri rilawa* D. Bl.; *madema* T.; *rosarosa*, *rosi* N. W. O.; *adukelina* L.; *virama* U. (S. *rilawa*).

*Baccharna* from *bas*, railing at, reviling, and *karna*, bear, or from *kiraya*, one who does.

*Betalama*, *v. sajera*, 'monkey.'

*Kandapanina*, lit. he who jumps on trees, from *kanda*, on trees, and *panina*, he who jumps.

*Keri rilawa* from *keri*, black, and *rilawa*.

*Madema*, probably a corruption of S. *madeya* (*v.* No. 33).

*Rosarosa* from Sk. *rosha*, anger; the word is repeated to indicate frequency of action, hence this expression may mean one who is frequently irritated.

*Virama*, lit. he who displays (his teeth), from S. *viramanavā*, to show, display.

140. **River,** *diagama* Bl.; *diapoja manguana* D.; *ganga* O.; *eya* W. (S. *gaṅga, eya*).

*Diagama,* lit. "where water goes," from S. *dia,* water, and *gama,* going.

*Diapoja manguana,* lit. where water goes or flows, *v. supra* and No. 50.

*Ganga,* cf. Sk. and P. *gaṅgā,* river.

141. **Roof,** *pōrugamaṭa dandalala* Bl. from *porugamata,* of a house, *danda,* S. *daṇḍu,* wooden (Sk. and P. *daṇḍa*), and *lala* from Sk. and P. *paṭala,* roof; *lala* may also be S. *lālā,* having put (S. *piyassa*).

142. **Salt,** *karampoja* Bl.; *muduru bora* B. (S. *luṇu*).

*Karampoja,* cf. M. *khāra,* Sk. *kshāra,* salt, T. *kāram,* caustic, *poja, v.* p. 391.

*Muduru bora* from *muduru,* sea (Sk. *samudra,* S. *samudura*), and *bora,* dregs, sediment.

143. **Salt water,** *lunadia* K. (S. *luṇu diya*).

144. **Sand,** *pahi* K., cf. Sk. and P. *pāṃsu,* dust, S. *pas,* earth (S. *veli*).

145. **Sea,** *muda* K. (S. *mūda*).

146. **See** (*v.*), *aiyarukulata mandewaya* D.; *atela baeala tibenya* Bl. (S. *penenawā*).

*Aiyarukulata mandewaya* from *aiyarukulata,* of the eye, *manda,* middle, and *weya* (Sk. *vid*), to recognise, to see.

*Atela baeala tibenya,* lit. "near about (S. *asala pasala*) there are (things)"; this phrase states the experience of seeing and may perhaps be connected with M. *aila paila,* here and beyond and *tibenya* from S. *tibenawa,* there are.

147. **Shadow,** *hevanpoja* D.; *hila* T.; *sevanella* K. (S. *hevaṇa, sevanella*).

*Hevanpoja* from S. *hevaṇa,* shade, and *poja, v.* p. 391.

148. **Shoot with a bow** (*v.*), *gaecena* D.; *nilahapi* B.; *wadamanalla* B. (S. *gahanawā, tat kawanawa, widinawā*).

*Gaecena,* lit. to cause to strike against, to cause to spring.

*Nilahapi* from *nilas* (Sk. *nālika*), arrow, and *hapi* (Sk. √*kap*), to cut off, destroy, injure.

*Wadamanalla,* cf. M. *nárvane,* to shoot, and *da* (or *la*), to cut, destroy, or this word may be connected with S. *widemana,* shooting.

192 149. Sing (v.), *gikiapan* B.; *otadamanya katadamma* Bl. (S. *gīkiyanavā*).

*Gikiapan* from S. *gī*, song, and *kiapan* (imperative), to say.

*Otadamanya katadamma*, lit: "to (make) sound(s) (with) the mouth while dancing," from *otadamanya*, to dance (v. No. 56), *kata*, throat, mouth, and *damma* (Sk. √*dhma*), to blow, to sound.

150. Sit (v.), *enchanava* W.; *indapa* K.; *randa damanya* D.; *randa indinya* Bl.; *veteruva* O. (S. *innavā, indinavā*).

*Enchanava*, cf. S. *ana*, squat, Sk. and M. *asana*, sitting, and *banava*, S. *bānnavā*, to lower.

*Indapa* from S. *indapiya*, sit (imp.).

*Randa damanya* from *randa*, S. *randīlā*, having stopped, and *damanya*, to be calm.

*Randa indinya* from *randa* (v. *supra*), and *indinya*, S. *idinavā*, to sit, or to be.

*Veteruva*, cf. S. *vætirila*, having stretched.

151. Skin, *hampeja* K. D.; *hampota* W. (S. *hama*).

*Hampeja* from S. *hama*, skin (Sk. *carma*, P. *camma*), and *peja*, v. p. 391.

*Hampota* may be a corruption of the above, or *pota* may be derived from S. *potta*, rind.

152. Sky, *eai* K.; *ahasa* Bl. (S. *ahasa, ākāsa*).

153. Sleep (v.), *Oterandala bata damanava* D.; *veteraganava, vetera nava, veterande, veteruva* W. K. L. T.; *veterila katadamanya* Bl. (S. *nidanavā*).

*Oterandala bata damanava* from *ota* (M. *khāṭa*), sleeping cot, *randala*, having remained, *bata*, body, and *damanava*, to pacify (Sk. √*dam*, to be calm).

*Veteraganava* from S. *vætiraganavā*, to stretch oneself, cf. Sk. *vistṛ*, to spread, to stretch.

*Veterila katadamanya* from *veterila*, S. *vætirīlā*, having stretched, *kata*, and *damanya*, v. *supra*.

154. Smell (v), *pakaraganda ganya, ganna ganya* Bl. (S. *suvanda gahanavā, dugada gahanavā*).

*Pakaraganda ganya* from *pakara*, Sk. *priyakara*, P. *piyakara*, pleasant, or from Sk. *prakara*, P. *pakara*, a bunch of flowers; *ganda*, S. *gaňda*, Sk. and P. *gandha*, smell, and *ganya*, S. *gahanavā*, to emit. In Sinhalese *gaňda* is used colloquially of a bad smell, the Sk. *pushpa*, flower, being used of a good smell. In the classics *gañda* is used of any smell. Perhaps *pakara* may be connected with Sk. *pushkara*, the blue lotus (S. *pokuru*, H. *pokhara*, P. *pokkhara*).

*Pucama ganye* from *pucama*, S. *pusma*, Sk. and P. *pūti*, stench, and *ma*, expletive or intensitive, *ganye*, *v. supra*.

155. Smoke, *duma* Tk.; *dun* K.; *ginipojagin mandevela mangacena* D. (S. *duma*).

*Ginipojagin mandevela mangacena*; *ginipojagin*, from fire, *mandevela*, slowly (Sk. *manda*, slow, *vēlā*, time), *mangacena*, that which goes. The expression literally means "that which goes from fire slowly," or, "that which goes from fire when wet,' the latter meaning being supported by the sentence collected at Bulugahaladena and given on p. 388.

156. Snake, *polingu* D. (S. *poloñga*).

157. Speak (*v.*), *katadamana* D.; *katamanye* Bl. (S. *katākaraṇawā*).

*Katadamana* from *kata*, throat, mouth, and *damana*, sound (Sk. *√dhwan*, *dhmā*, Sk. and P. *maṇ*, to sound).

*Katamanye*, *v. supra*.

158. Spider, *mekini* Bl. (S. *makuḷuwā*).

The form *makuṇā* is also used in Sinhalese.

159. Spit (*v.*), *kelapoja anokelanawa* D. from S. *kela*, spittle, *poja* (*v.* p. 391), *anoke*, away (S. *ahaka*), and *lanawa*, to put (S. *keḷa gahanawā*).

160. Squirrel (*Sciurus macrurus*), *dandulena* N.; *panina* L.; *peruma* D.; *rukka*, *rukia* R. T. (S. *danḍulēnā*, *lēnā*).

*Dandulena* from S. *dandu*, stem, stalk, erect, and *lēnā*, squirrel, probably referring to the long tail of this squirrel.

*Panina*, lit. the jumper (S. *paninnā*).

*Peruma*, lit. the animal (which lodges) among the leaves of trees, cf. Sk. *parṇamṛiga*, squirrel, from *parṇa*, leap, and *mṛiga*, animal.

*Rukka*, cf. Sk. *vṛikshaśāyikā*, from *vṛiksha* (S. *ruk*), trees, and *śāyikā*, who sleeps, i.e. who sleeps in trees.

161. Stand (*v.*), *anakitala indinya*, *kitala indinya* D. Bl.; *indepe* B.; *penenangipe* K. (S. *siṭinawā*).

*Anakitala indinya* from *ana* (Sk. and P. *āṇi*), the part of the leg immediately above the knee, *kitala*, being erect (Sk. *√sthā*, P. *ṭhā*, to stand, to remain), and *indinya*, *v.* No. 150.

*Penenangipe*, cf. S. *penenanga*, to rise up.

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162. **Star**, *ginipujamal* Bl.; *tarapaja* D.; *taruka* K. (S. *taru*, Sk. *taraka*).

*Ginipujamal* from S. *gini*, fire, and *pujamal*, heaps; *mal* being the pl. suffix (T. *kal*), is probably a contraction of H. *sakal*, all.

*Tarapaja* from S. *taru*, star, and *paja*, v. p. 391.

163. **Stone**, *gala* K. (S. *gala*).

164. **Strike** (v.), *labacunnawa*, *enawanawa* Bl. (S. *gahanawā*).

*Labacunnawa* is probably from Sk. *rabhasa*, violence, and lit. means "to do violence."

*Enawanawa* from *ena* (Sk. *han*), to strike, and *wanawa*, to throw over, or drive away.

165. **String a bow** (v.), *patawala manda keranawa* Bl. (S. *dunuwala*, or *dunudiya*, *damanawā*).

*Patawala manda keranawā*; Mr Parker considers that this phrase means "to loop the bark cord (on the bow)." *Patawala* may be from S. *patti*, bark, and *wala*, cord; *manda keranawā* is to loop or noose, *manda* being a noose.

166. **Sun**, *irapaja* D. Bl.; *sahalawa* B.; *suriya* K. (S. *ira*).

*Irapaja* from S. *ira* (Sk. *sūrya*), and *paja* perhaps from Sk. and P. *punja*, mass, heap (cf. p. 391).

*Sahalawa* is connected with Sk. *sahasrakirana*, sun.

*Suriya* (Sk. *sūrya*, P. *suriya*) is not used in colloquial Sinhalese.

167. **Sweat**, *dadidapi* W. from S. *dadi*, sweat, and *dapa* (Sk. *darpa*), heat (S. *dāḍiya*, *ḍāḍiya*).

168. **Take away** (v.), *enawana* B. K.; *ena mangacana* D.; *ena mangacanawa* Bl. (S. *aragena yanawā*).

*Enawana* from *ena*, S. *gena*, having taken, and *wana*, which appears to be connected with Sk. *nigam*, to go to, or may be a corruption of S. *yana*, go (imp.).

*Ena mangacana* from *ena* (*supra*), and *mangacana*, go.

*Ena mangacanawa* from *ena* (S. *epita*), from that place, thence, and *mangacanawa*.

169. **Tears**, *dia* Bl., lit. (S.) water (S. *kaňdulu*).

170. **Teeth**, *datporawa* Bl.; *datkathai* D. (S. *dat*).

*Datporawa*, lit. "tooth board," or row of teeth, from *dat*, teeth, and *porawa*, board, plank (H. *patrā*, or *pirkā*, plank, M. *phaṛī*, row, line).

*Datkathai* from S. *data*, tooth, and *kathai* (M. *kapaḷā*), piece.

171. Thick, *parabata* K., cf. S. *parvata*, adj., large, huge, and Sk. *parvata*, *pārāpata*, mountain, which may be used to indicate thickness (S. *gana*). 182

172. Thunder and lightning, *akunu* O.; *diadamana* Bl.; *diula* W.; *devula andanawa* K.; *devula gorawanawa* R.; *katadamanan* Bl. (S. *gerawima viduliya*).

*Akunu*, cf. P. *akkhayā*, Sk. *akshaya*.

*Diadamana*, lit. light thrower, from *dia* (Sk. *dyuti*), light, rays of light, and *damana*, that which throws; cf. S. *dame*, to put, to throw, probably from Sk. √*dhma*, to throw, to cast.

*Diula* is a corruption of M. *sōjvāla*, lightning.

*Devula andanawa* from *devula*, heaven, and S. *andanawa*, making a sound.

*Devula gorawanawa* from *devula* and S. *gorawanawā*, rumble, growl.

*Katadamanan* from *kata* (Sk. *kānti*), lustre, and *damanan*, which appears to be either a mistake or another form of *damana*.

173. Tinder, *huduhambe* W.; *pulum* K. (S. *ginipulun*).

*Huduhambe* from *hudu*, S. *sudu*, white, and *hamba* (Sk. *samidha*), fuel. [For another and more probable derivation cf. p. 386.]

*Pulum*, cf. S. *pulun*, cotton.

174. Tobacco, *vasakola* K.; *vaskola* O. D. Bl. R.; *vesakola* K. W. L. T. (S. *dumkola*), perhaps from S. *visa*, poison, and *kola*, leaf.

175. Tongue, *divapoja* D.; *divarukula* Bl.; *radiya* O.; *tala* T. (S. *diva*).

*Divapoja*, from S. *diva*, tongue, and *poja*: v. p. 391.

*Divarukula*, lit. that which helps licking or tasting, from S. *diva*, tongue, and *rukula*, v. No. 73.

*Radiya* from S. *raha*, taste, flavour, and *diya*, S. *diva*, tongue.

*Tala* from S. *tala* (Sk. *dala*), blade.

176. Track (n.), *etekan mangacaleaw* Bl., lit. "gone this way," or "gone from there"; *etekan*, from there, cf. S. *etanini*, from that place, *man*, way, path (S. *maga*, Sk. *mārga*), *gacaleaw*, gone, cf. P. *gacchati*, goes.

177. Tree, *gas*, *gapoja*, *gaipoja* K. D. Bl., from S. *gaha* and *poja*, v. p. 391 (S. *gasa*, *gaha*).

178. Ugly, *nopori* B., v. No. 8 (S. *avalakshana*).

179. Understand (v.), *hitulala tiberye* Bl. from S. *hita*, in the mind, *lala*, having put, and *tiberye*, there is, or *hitulala* may be corrupted from H. *citthala*, mind (S. *hadgenava*, *terenava*).

180. Water, *dia* K. O. T.; *diarasa* D.; *diarakala* Bl. (S. *watura*, *diya*).

*Diarasa* from *dia*, water, and *rasa* (Sk. *rasa*), fluid.

*Diarakala*, lit. support of life, from *dia*, S. *divi*, life, and *rakala*, v. No. 73.

181. Waterhole, *madawala* W., lit. mudpit, from S. *mada*, mud, and *wala*, pit (S. *waturawala*).

182. Water tortoise, *kabala pita kuda* N.; *mambuda* N. (S. *ibba*, *kasbaeva*).

*Kabala pita kuda*[1], lit. "white on the back of the shell" from S. *kabala*, shell, *pita*, on the back, and *kuda* (S. *suda*), white.

*Mambuda* from *man* (Sk. *vamana*), pigmy, and *buda*, body.

183. Wax, *iti* K. (S. *iti*).

184. Wind, *dandapataguruma* D.; *hulanpojja* Bl.; *silmana* K.; *silundarunaga* W. O. (S. *hulanga*).

*Dandapataguruma* from Sk., P. and S. *danda*, staff, stem of a tree, and *pataguruma*.

*Hulanpojja* from S. *hulan* and *pojja*, v. p. 391.

*Silmana*, lit. that which causes to shake, from S. *selavana* (Sk. and P. *cala*), to shake, the gerund of which is *selmana*.

*Silundarunaga* from *sil*, tree (S. *sala*, Sk. and P. *sala*), *undarupa* (Sk. *samuddharana*), eradicating, and Sk. *ga*, that which moves.

185. Yam, *alapojja* D.; *bokki* K.; *katuala* T. (S. *ala*).

*Alapojja* from S. *ala* (Sk. and P. *alu*), and *pojja*, v. p. 391.

*Bokki*, cf. Sk. *bukka*, heart, which may have been applied to yams on account of their shape.

*Katuala* from S. *katu*, thorny, and *ala*/ S. *ala*, yam (Sk. and P. *alu*).

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[1] Mr Parker points out that the animal referred to is the pale, edible freshwater turtle called by the Sinhalese *kiri ibba*.

# APPENDIX.

## THE DERIVATION OF THE *KÆLĒ-BĀSE* NAMES OF SOME ANIMALS[1]

BY

A. M. GUNASEKARA.

1. **Ant-eater.** (i) *Pottā*, f. *potti*, lit. "who has a shell," from S. *potta*, "shell." The shell of the ant-eater is called in S. *äpotta* (nom. sing. *äpotta*), *ä* is the basal form (generally taken by the first part of a compound word) of *äyā*.

(ii) *Äyā*, literally "who ploughs or digs." This word is formed from S. *säyā*, derived from S. √*sä*.

(iii) *Talkola-pettiyā* from S. *talkola*, "palmyra leaves," and *pettiyā*, "who is or has a box" (S. *pettiya*, "box"), *i.e.* the ant-eater is or has "a box made of palmyra leaves." I assume that *pettiyā* should be *peṭṭiyā*.

2. **Bear.** (i) *Uyangoruwā*, lit. a keeper or protector of pleasure gardens, from S. *uyan*, "parks," "pleasure gardens," "gardens," and *goruwā*, "keeper," "who guards or protects."

(ii) *Tadiyā*, lit. "the fat one," from Tamil *taḍi*, "flesh." In Sinhalese *tadiyā* is a fat man or animal.

(iii) *Kaluwā*, lit. "the black one," from S. *kalu*, "black"; *ā* is the personal nom. sing. ending, and *kalu* becomes *kaluwā* by euphony. *Kaluwā* is often used by the Sinhalese as a pet name for a male child who has a particularly dark complexion.

(iv) *Kalu-walikimi*, lit. black she-bear, from *kalu* and *walikimi*, "she-bear."

(v) *Gamayā*, lit. "the village headman," from S. *gama*, "village"; *gamayā* also means "villager." *Gamarāla* is the more common form for the headman of a village.

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[1] The *Kälē-bāsa* names of the animals in this appendix are taken from Mr Parker's work *Ancient Ceylon*.

P12

3. **Buffalo.** (i) *Ankeravanā*, lit. horn-bearer, from S. *aŋ*, "horns," and *keravanā*, "who is laden" or "who bears" (from Sk. √*bhṛi*, to bear, to support); "ŋ" is changed into "n" before "k" which requires before it a nasal of the class to which it belongs.

(ii) *Gavayā*, a Sinhalese word meaning "bull," "ox," "one of the ox kind," corresponding with the Sk. *gava*, *go*, cf. Sk. *gavaya*, "wild buffalo."

(iii) *Pimbinnā* is a Sinhalese word meaning "who snorts or makes a hissing sound with the nostrils" (as when the animal is charging), from S. √*pimba*, "to blow."

**Civet cat.** (i) *Appala-hapayā* appears to mean "one who moves skilfully among branches," from S. *appala* (*atpala*), "on branches," and *hapayā* (*hapaya*, *hebaya*), "soldier," "one skilful in action."

(ii) *Kāpuhakkiyā* is probably a variant of *Kātambayā* (v. *infra*); *Kāpuhakkiyā* literally means "he whose ears are red," from S. *ka*, "ears," and *hakkiyā*, "one like a king-coconut," *i.e.* "one who is red."

(iii) *Kātambayā* from *kā*, "ears," and *tambayā*, "copper-coloured one," *i.e.* "one whose ears are copper-coloured."

5. **Cobra.** *Bāyi-sattayā*, lit. "the animal with a hood," from *bāyi*, "hood" (expanded), and *sattayā*, "animal"; *bāyi* is a corrupt form of S. *bōga* (Sk. *bhoga*), "(expanded) hood," "coil," "snake," and *sattayā* is a corrupt form of the Sk. *sattva* (with S. nom. sing. ending) used by illiterate Sinhalese, "being," "animal."

6. **Crocodile.** *Gavayā*, v. No. 3 (ii), *supra*.

7. **Deer, Axis.** (i) *Ankeravanā*, v. No. 3 (i), *supra*.

(ii) *Pit-panduru*, this expression may mean "who is a yellow bag," from *pit* (Sk. *pita*), "yellow," and *panduru* (threshing-floor dialect), "bag." Perhaps *panduru* is a corruption of S. *pālu*, "young animal," while *pit* may be a mistake for, or a corruption of, S. *tit*, "spots." The spotted deer is called *tit-muvā* in Sinhalese, in which language *pit* also means "bile," "bilious."

8. **Deer, Mouse.** (i) *Kokka*, lit. "who makes the cry of kok"; in Sinhalese the cry of the peacock is called *koka* (Sk. *kēkā*).

(ii) *Yakadayā*, lit. "who is like iron," "who is stern," from S. *yakada*, "iron." [Mr Parker suggests that this expression is satirical and refers to the fragile appearance of the animal.]

(iii) *Baṅgarayā* is a Sinhalese word meaning "who runs," "who deceives," "fast runner"; the Sk. *jaṅghākāra*, "runner," is identical with the Sinhalese word.

9. **Deer, Sambar.** (i) *Ambaruwā*, v. 3 (i), *supra*.

(ii) *Karaholayā*, lit. "who is a raw talipot leaf." *Karahola*, the "leaf of the talipot palm."

(iii) *Pollā*, S. "young animal" (of deer, etc.), the S. *polla*, "club," "staff," can hardly be connected with this.

10. **Dog.** (i) *Æḍurā*, a S. word meaning "teacher," "messenger," "expeller of devils," the corresponding words in Sk. and P. are *âcârya* and *âcariya* respectively.

(ii) *Baṅdinnā*, lit. "binder," "who binds or ties," in which sense only the word is used in S. If taken as a contraction of *anu-baṅdinnā* (S.), it may mean "follower"; if taken as a contraction of *luhu-baṅdinnā*, it may mean "who chases or pursues."

(iii) *Hatarabāgayā* from S. *hatara*, "four," and *bāgayā*, "who has parts" (probably referring to legs).

(iv) *Hatara-bāga-attā* from S. *hatara*, *bāga*, "parts," and *attā*, "who has."

11. **Elephant.** (i) *Uhallā*, lit. "the tall one." This is another form of *usallā* which, though the original form, is less used in Sinhalese.

(ii) *Usallā* (*v. supra*).

(iii) *Usaṅgallā* from S. *us*, "tall," and *aṅgallā*, "who has limbs." *Aṅga* (S., Sk. and P.) in *aṅgallā* means "limbs" and the *ll* seem to have been added to conform with the preceding words.

(iv) *Gajjarā* from *gajja*, "trumpeting (of elephants)," and *rā*, "who gives." Though *gaja* is a Sk. word also used in S. for "elephant," *gajjarā* is not connected with it, but comes from the root *garj*, "to roar or growl"; from this root is formed the Sk. word *garja*, "trumpeting of elephants," of which the Pāli form is *gajja*. The Sk. *garja* itself may be corrupted into *gajja* by the illiterate.

12. **Leopard.** (i) *Diviyā*. This is the common S. word which corresponds with Sk. *dvîpin* and P. *dîpî*.

(ii) *Sivupāvā* from S. *sivu*, "four," and *pāvā*, "who has feet," *i.e.* "the four-footed one."

(iii) *Badi-mutā* from S. *badi*, "forest," "jungle," and *mutā* (S. *muttā*), "grandfather," *i.e.* lit. "grandfather of the forest."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-6 (1907-1908) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

M2.

*Mutti* appears to be a mistake for *mutti*, the form *kalli-mutti* occurs in the threshing-floor dialect.

(iv) *Ruppayā*, lit. "inhabitant of the forest," from S. *ruppayā*, "who dwells in the forest."

13. Monitor lizard (*Varanus sp.*). (i) *Kaṇḍiā*, lit. "who is like a skein or bundle" or "who has stripes or lines," from S. *kaṇḍia*, "skein," "bundle," "line," "stripe."

(ii) *Kapurāla* from S. *kapu*, "priest of a temple," and *rāla*, "chief," "lord" (generally used as honorific); *kapurāla* is more respectful than *kapuwā*, which is also used. The word may also mean "barber," in which sense it perhaps refers to the bare skin of the monitor lizard.

(iii) *Manda* from the Sk. *manda*, "slow," "dull," "lazy," which is also used in Sinhalese.

14. Monkey (*Semnopithecus sp.*). (i) *Gas-goṇā* from S. *gas*, "tree," and *goṇā*, "bull." *Gasgoṇā* is probably a corruption of *gasgiyā*, *gasnigal* is an old S. word for monkey.

(ii) *Gas-gīyā* from S. *gas*, "tree," and *gīyā*, "number."

15. Monkey (*Thersites sp.*). (i) *Kaṇḍan-paninnā*, from S. *kaṇḍan*, "trunks" (of trees), and *paninnā*, "who jumps."

(ii) *Paṭagalapu-ekā* from S. *paṭagalapu*, "who is stripped of its cloth" (S. *paṭa*), and *ekā*, "one."

16. Pig. (i) *Hoṭa-kerayā*, v. No. 133 of the Vedda list.

(ii) *Taḍiyā*, v. No. 2 (ii), *supra*.

(iii) *Telhaliyā* from S. *tel*, "oil," "fat," and *haliyā*, "who is a pot" (S. *hala*), *i.e.* "who is (like) a pot of fat."

17. Porcupine. (i) *Ittiyā*, a Sinhalese word, though the form *ittēvā* is more commonly used.

(ii) *Kaṭuvā*, lit. "the spiny one," from S. *kaṭu*, "bones," *i.e.* "spines."

# GLOSSARY OF NATIVE WORDS

**Adukku**, an offering of cooked food.

**Aiya**, elder brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.

**Akka**, elder sister, daughter, paternal uncle's daughter.

**Alutyakagama**, a bower-like structure to which the *yaku* are called in certain ceremonies.

**Arachi**, the headman of a Sinhalese village settlement.

**Aude**, a ceremonial arrow (S. *awude*).

**Baena**, sister's son, brother's son, hence son-in-law.

**Bambara**, the rock bee (*Apis indica*).

**Bandara**, often shortened to *Bandar*, the spirit of a deceased chief or important ancestor to whom offerings are made. *Bandara* are generally hurtful, but have certain protective functions (Sinhalese).

**Bulatyakagama**, an elaborate form of *maesa* used at Unuwatura Bubula.

**Chena**, a piece of rough cultivation.

**Deva**, a god.

**Deyo**, god, properly *deviya*, pl. *deviyo*, often altered to *deyiya* and *deyiyo*.

**Dia lanuwa**, a waist string.

**Dugganawa**, shaman (Vedda).

**Gamarale**, a village headman (Sinhalese).

**Hangala**, a length of white cloth worn by the shaman in certain ceremonies.

**Hangotu**, the Sinhalese for *maludema*, q.v.

**Hura**, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, i.e. the cousin whom a girl should marry.

**Kaduwa**, a wooden sword used in certain ceremonies.

**Kaelebasa**, the jungle language of Ceylon.

**Kapurale**, a devil-dancer (Sinhalese).

**Katandirale**, a devil-dancer (Sinhalese).

**Kiriamma**, lit. grandmothers, generally used for the spirits (*yakino*) of old Vedda women.

**Kirikoraha**, lit. a pot containing coconut milk, hence one of the ceremonies in which this is the chief offering.

**Kolamaduwa**, a ceremony which takes its name from the structure round which it is performed.

**Kudaram**, a rough altar erected by Coast Veddas.

**Maesa**, an altar-like structure on which are placed offerings to the *yaku*.

**Maleya**, younger brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.

**Maludema**, a deerskin vessel in which honey is collected (cf. Plate LXV).

**Maaliya**, a wooden implement for taking honeycomb (cf. Text Fig. 12).

**Mukkaliya**, the tripod used in the *kirikoraha* and other ceremonies.

**Naena**, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, i.e. the cousin whom a man should marry.

**Pilliyar**, a sacred stone within the precincts of the temple at Pellanchenai (Coast Veddas). *Pilleiyar* is the Tamil name of the God Ganesa: a rude stone placed under a shady tree may be treated as representing the god.

**Pingo**, a carrying stick.

**Ran kaduwa**, lit. "golden sword," a wooden sword or stick used in certain ceremonies (cf. Text Fig. 11).

**Ratemahatmaya**, hereditary overlord or "laird."

**Ruwala**, the central pole and structure erected for the *ruwala* ceremony.

**Sannasa**, a record of a grant of land generally inscribed on a metal plate or rock face.

**Talawa**, an open space in the jungle, a glade.

**Tavalam**, a train of pack bulls.

**Ule**, a yam stick.

**Vederale**, a native doctor (Sinhalese).

**Vidane**, a Vedda headman appointed by Government.

**Wadia**, trading places where Veddas and Moormen pedlars meet to barter.

**Wanniya**, a Vedda chief, also used as a proper name, e.g. Sita Wanniya. The word is also applied to the inhabitants of the Wanni, a wild tract in the North Central Province.

**Waruge**, a clan.

**Wilkoraha**, a pot used for fetching water in the ceremony invoking the Rahu Yaku.

**Yaka**, f. *yakini*, pl. *yaku*, f. *yakina*, (i) the spirit of a dead Vedda.
(ii) Other spirits.

**Yakka, yakkini**, the aborigines of Ceylon referred to in the Mahawansa.

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